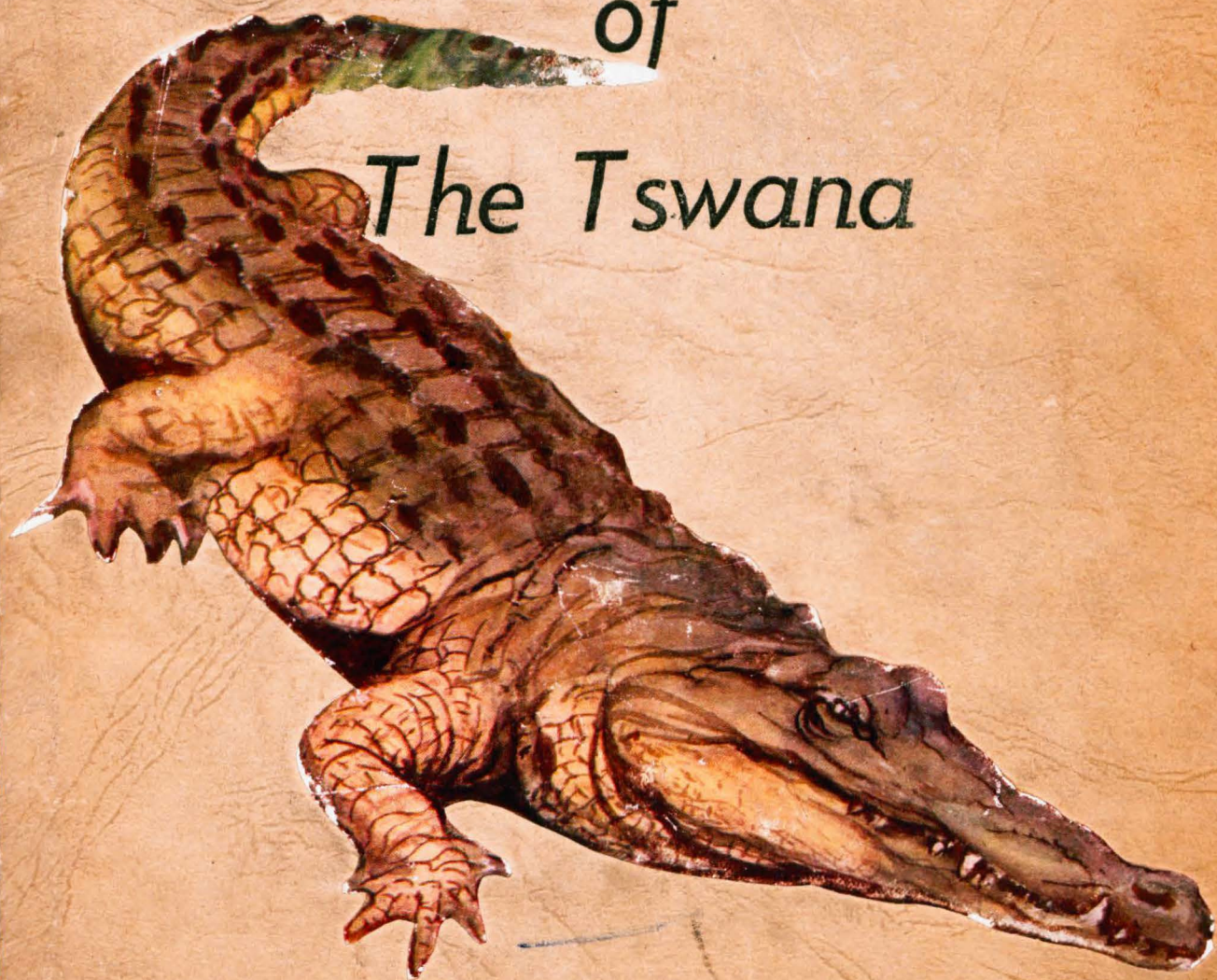


*The Material Culture
of
The Kwena Tribe
of
The Tswana*



C A McDONALD

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Thesis submitted as partial fulfilment
of the degree of MAGISTER ARTIUM
by C.A.McDONALD.

JOHANNESBURG;

March 1940.



The kwena.

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The Kwanas

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have almost altogether disappeared.

When reference is made therefore, in this study, to the

Transvaal Kwena, it must be understood that the Kwena of

Tamposstad are mainly designated, although other villages

will also sometimes be mentioned.

This is an attempt to preserve in type-script

Preface.

This study, which, to a large extent, consists of reproductions of photographs taken by myself and drawings made by myself, is the outcome of ~~a~~ two months' work among the Kwena tribe of Tamosstad, fifteen miles North-East of Groot Marico in the Transvaal (Map I) and the Kwena of Molepolole in Bechuanaland Protectorate, sixty-five miles by road from the border of the Transvaal at Ramoutsa (Map II).

It is a comparative study of the material culture of the scattered offshoots of one tribe, which, in the remote past, must have lived at one place under the authority of one chief.

This type of work is not entirely a new experience to the writer, for he has lived in close proximity to the Kwena of Tamosstad and allied tribes - the Kgatla and Hurutshe - for many years. Moreover he has learned a great deal of their language through personal contact with these people.

Tamosstad is chosen as representing the Transvaal-Kwena because it is a fairly large reserve (25,551 morgen) with about nine thousand people living in the village, and because the little that is left of the indigenous Kwena native arts and crafts of the Transvaal, is mostly preserved among the people of this village. In all the other Kwena villages in the Transvaal, the traditional arts and crafts have almost altogether disappeared.

When reference is made therefore, in this study, to the Transvaal Kwena, it must be understood that the Kwena of Tamosstad are mainly designated, although other villages will also sometimes be mentioned.

This is an attempt to preserve in type-script

VII.

A regrettable fact is that Anthropologists have thus far a record of what is still left of the Kwenā indigenous material culture, of the material and implements used and of the methods of construction, for ere long, the last survivals of this most interesting culture will be completely obliterated by the overwhelming European influence, a fact which we deeply lament. The visitor to the Native Agricultural Shows cannot help but realise this. At the Native Show which was held ten miles North of Rustenburg on the 10th and 11th of August 1939, it was noted with regret that the arts and crafts section was very poorly represented. The articles exhibited were excellently made, but they were the work of only a few people. The whole exhibition of claypots, for example, was the work of only two women.

On the Native Agricultural Show which was held at Rustenburg on the 24th of May 1935, one of the young Chiefs of Bechuanaland, in his address to the audience, said that when native hunters are on the spoor of a koodoo they feel convinced that they will overtake and kill it. He added that the Bantu are now on the spoor of the White Man and that they are determined to overtake him, if not tonight, then tomorrow.

Although it is true that the White Man is by far their superior and can teach them much about agriculture and cattle-farming, there are undoubtedly certain aspects of their material culture which cannot be improved upon by European civilisation. Yet it seems as if these people refuse to realise this, and if it is in any way possible, they will immediately discard their whole material culture in favour of that of the White Man whom they consider to be their supreme master.

A regrettable fact is that Anthropologists have thus far neglected the study and the recording of this aspect of Native culture. Hence it will be difficult, indeed, if not impossible, to reconstruct a detailed record of any Native material culture from books written on the customs and the social life of any particular people.

As regards the historical part of this study, it was rather difficult to obtain trustworthy information, and thus far, there is almost nothing recorded on the history of this tribe. Dr. I. Schapera, however, is at present busy compiling a work on the history of the Tswana tribes. The history given in this study, of the Bechuanaland Kwena, is an extract from "BaKwena Origins" sent to me by Dr. Schapera, to whom, I am deeply indebted for permission to use this material.

The history of the Transvaal Kwena, also given in this study, is a result of my own investigations, and is reproduced as it was told to me, for comparative purposes. Of course it cannot be maintained that it is true in every detail.

A detailed record of the history of the various Kwena tribes would provide matter for a thesis in itself.

On account of the fact that a study like this entails great expense and that the writer has had no support from elsewhere, the photographs have not been enlarged.

In conclusion I wish to extend my sincerest thanks and appreciation towards all the people - European and Native - who have given me their kind advice, help and hospitality, in the course of my research work.

I especially wish to thank Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, at one time senior lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, for the interest she has always taken in my work, and for the kind advice which she was always ready

and willing to give me.

I also take this opportunity of thanking Dr.N.J.van Warmelo,chief Ethnologist of the Native Affairs Department, Pretoria,for his encouragement,his advice,and for his readiness to allow me to make use of one of the maps in his book: "A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu tribes of South Africa."

I also hereby wish to record my gratitude to Professor Lestrade and Dr.I.Schapera for their advice although it was only by letter.

My thanks are extended also to Dr.Richards,senior lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand,for her kind advice.

My sincerest thanks for information,help and hospitality are also due to chief Salmon Moshome of Tamosstad,his Uncle Simon Moshome and teacher J.Mothibe,who have all been friends of mine for the last ten years; to chief Herman Selon of Grootwagendrift location in the Rustenburg District; to chief Kgari Sechele,paramount Chief of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Kwenā; and also to Mr.R.Sullivan, District Commissioner at Molepolole - Bechuanaland; to Mr. R.A.R.Bent,subcommissioner at Molepolole and to Mr.Yeats, chief Native Commissioner at Rustenburg.

I hope that this short,though not exhaustive,record of the material culture of the Kwenā tribe,will be a contribution of some real value towards the preservation of the Native material culture in general,if only in record form.

Johannesburg, C.A.McDonald.

March 1940.

Chapter I.

Distribution and relationship.

A broad outline of the present distribution of the Sotho-Tswana peoples and of the relationship of the Kwena to this cluster of the South African Bantu:-

The Sotho-Tswana are scattered over a vast extent of Southern Africa. Geographically, and largely as a result of this, ethnologically, they fall into the following sections:-

I. The Western Sotho: These call themselves the ~~B~~Tswana and they consist of tribes in British Bechuanaland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Western Transvaal, with the enclaves in South-Western Rhodesia and outliers in the Orange Free State (Thaba Nchu District) and Basutoland with adjacent portions of the Ciskei and the Transkeian territories. 2.

Most members of this ~~tribe~~^{group} dwell along the Western border of the Sotho area, skirting the Kalahari, and they are represented by the following branches:-

(a) Southern, comprising the Tlharo (Motlhwaro), Rolong, Tlhaping Hurutshe, Ngwaketse, Kwena, Kgatla (Manaana) and some groups of Kgalagadi.

(b) Northern, comprising the Ngwato, Tawana, Phaleng, Kaa, Khurutshe, Birwa, Matswapong, Talaota, and many groups of Kgalagadi.

(c) Eastern, comprising the Maletse, Tlôkwa and Kgatla (Kgafêla division) of the Gaberones and Mochudi districts, and the Kwena, Kgatla, Tlôkwa, Fokeng and other tribes of the Western and North-Western Transvaal.

The Kwena of the last group about whose connection with the numerous other Kwena elsewhere in the Union one is unable to say anything definite, are an exception, for they

I. Lestrade - Duggin Cronin, Vol. II, Sec. I, 7.

2. van Warmelo - A Preliminary survey of the Bantu Tribes of S.A., 1935, 96.

really appear to be related in the order of precedence given in the enumeration below:¹

<u>Chief</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>District</u>
August Mokgatle,	BaFokeng or BaKwena	Rustenburg.
A.Phiri(sub. to Mokgatle)	BaFokeng or BaKwena	Ventersdorp.
Herman Mokgatle,	BaFokeng or BaKwena	baMakgongwane, Pilansberg
J.G.Serobatse,	BaFokeng or BaKwena	Ventersdorp.
J.O.M.Mmamokgale,	baKwena baMokgopa	Pretoria.
"	"	Rustenburg.
"	"	Hamanskraal.
"	"	Nylstroom.
T.S.More	baKwena baMokgopa	Ventersdorp.
Maemane	baKwena baMmanamêla	Rustenburg.
Herman Selon(Thêbe)	baKwena baModimosana or baMmatau	"
S.Moshome,	baKwena baModimosana baMnamorare	
	baMatlaku	Rustenburg.

All the above mentioned tribes have the Kwena for their totem animal.

II. The Central Sotho, comprising the Pedi, Tau, Koni, Nareng and Rôka, scattered in the districts of Pietersburg, Leydsdorp, Schoonoord, Pretoria, Hamanskraal and Middelburg.

III. Eastern Sotho, comprising the Kutswe, Pai, Pulana and others in the districts of Pelgrimsrest, Schoonoord, Nelspruit and Lydenburg.

The meridian through Pretoria is generally considered a fairly accurate line of division for practical purposes, between Eastern and Western Sotho, that is to say between the Pedi dialect and the various forms of Tswana and Kgatla.³

I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, I.
2&3 van Warmelo - A Preliminary survey of the Bantu Tribes of S.A. 1935, I06, I07.

IV. North-Eastern Sotho;^I comprising the Phalaborwa, Tonga, Letswalo and Lobedu in the districts of Tzaneen, Leydsdorp, and Duivelskloof.

V. Northern Sotho, comprising the Kgakga, Koni, Birwa and Tlôkwa in the districts of Pietersburg, Potgietersrust, Groot-Spelonken, Duivelskloof and Blauwberg.

VI. South Sotho, comprising the Sotho, Kwena, Fokeng, Taung, Phuthi and others of Basutoland.^I

Relationship of the Kwena to the other Sotho-Tswana Tribes:-

The information at our disposal today, regarding the origin of the Sotho-Tswana peoples and their present scattered state, is based mostly on oral tradition, a fact which forthwith implies that this information cannot be accepted as being trustworthy in every detail, because, the traditions are often confused and even contradictory, so that the facts must be checked again and again before they can be accepted with any degree of certainty.

It is with this ~~view~~ in mind that the reader must accept the following pages written on this group of the South African Bantu. Now we find sections of great tribes almost everywhere. How they reached their present scattered state cannot in every detail be determined, for here again we have to rely on tradition. Undoubtedly the disturbances of the last century contributed considerably to the present state of complexity.

According to tradition, most of the present Tswana tribes, both within and beyond the Protectorate, are derived from one common stock. In course of time this parent stock broke

I. van Warmelo - A Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of S.A., 106, 107.

4.

up into many different groups, each of which again became subdivided into more^{and more} separate tribes. Ambitious or discontented relatives of a chief would break away from his tribe and move with their followers into a new locality. Here they would set up as an independent tribe under the chieftainship of their leader, by whose name they generally became known.^{1.}

The Barolong appear to be the most ancient of the Tswana race and from them are believed to have descended the Hurutshe from whom again the Kwenas, Kgatla and several other important tribes are offshoots.

It is maintained that the Barolong, called after their chief Morolong, migrated from the far North about 1400 A.D. and settled somewhere near Mafeking. The Hurutshe are believed to have split from the main body of the Barolong after their arrival at the Malopo river near Mafeking, about the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.^{2,3.}

The Hurutshe were thus considered as the senior branch and no other tribe would dare to gather in their crops before the first-fruit ceremonies had been performed by the Hurutshe chief.

The first division of the Hurutshe people took place after the death of their third recorded chief, Molope, who left two sons, Mohurutshe and Kwene. The former remained chief of the main tribe which took its name from him, while the latter separated from his brother and called his people BaKwena, choosing the crocodile (kwena) as his totem.^{4.}

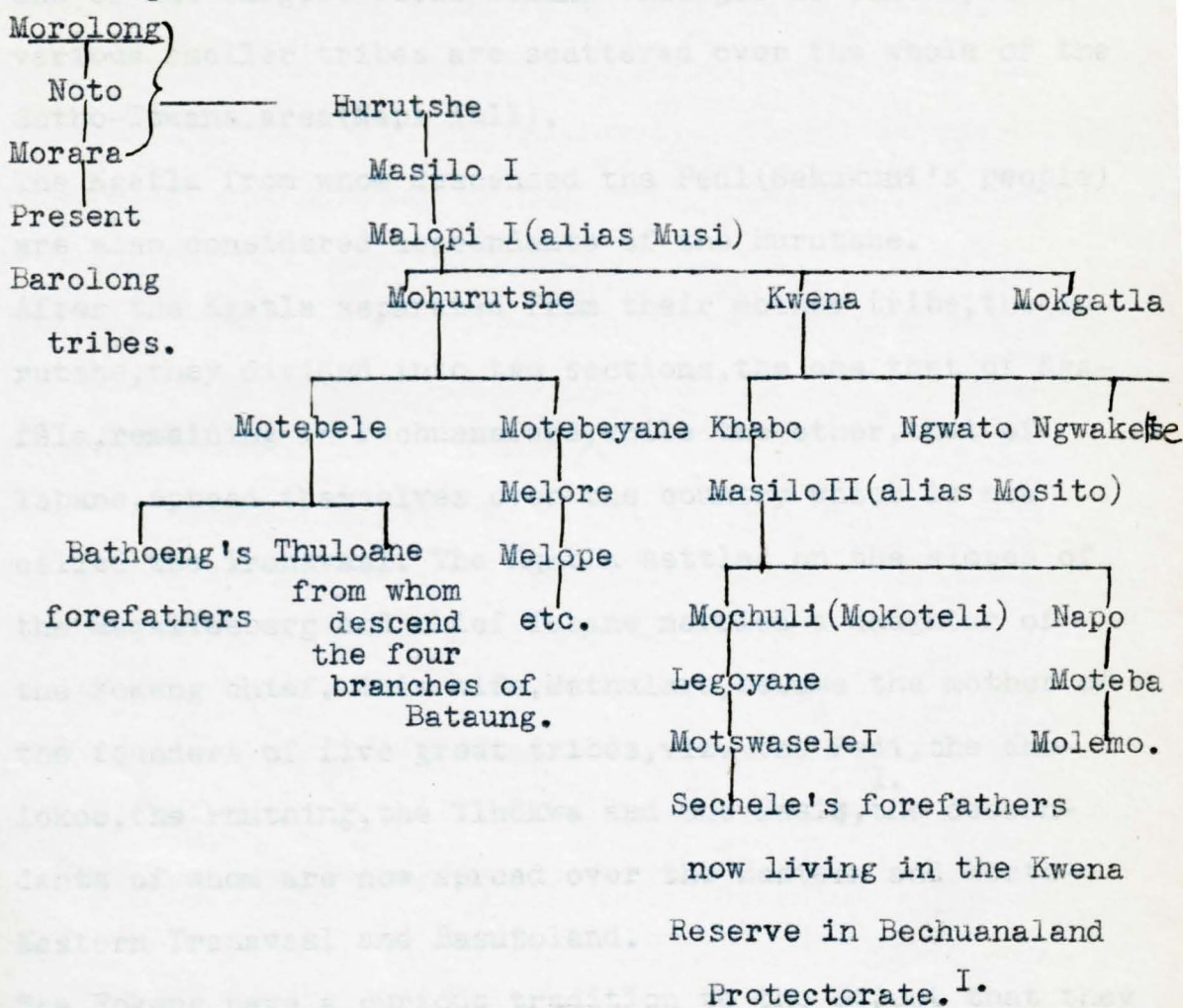
1. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 3.

2. Massie - The Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905, 16 & 18.

3. Ellenberger - The history of the Basuto, 1912, 15.

4. Massie - The Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905, 19.

The descent of the various tribes from the Barolong is shown in the following diagram:-



Kwena, the younger brother of Muhurutshe, had three known sons: first Khabo, father of Masilo surnamed Mosito, who was the father of Mochuli^{and Napo}; second Ngwato, who formed the tribe of the BaMangwato, and took the phuthi (duiker) for their seboko, or tribal emblem, in order, it is said, to please his wife, who, with her ancestors, revered this antelope; third Ngwaketse who was the first chief of the BaNgwaketse and took the kwena or crocodile as seboko.

Mochuli, son of Masilo, lived near Molepolole and ruled over the main branch of the Kwena.²

Today the main branch of the Kwena is located in the Kwena

1. Ellenberger - The History of the Basuto - 1912, 335.
2. " " " " " " - 1912, 31.

Reserve in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with Molepolole, one of the largest Sotho-Tswana villages as centre, while various smaller tribes are scattered over the whole of the Sotho-Tswana area (Maps I&II).

The Kgatla from whom descended the Pedi (Sekukuni's people) are also considered descendants of the Hurutshe.

After the Kgatla separated from their mother tribe, the Hurutshe, they divided into two sections, the one that of Kga-fêla, remaining in Bechuanaland, while the other, that of Tabane, spread themselves over the country which is now called the Transvaal. The Kgatla settled on the slopes of the Magaliesberg and chief Tabane married a daughter of the Fokeng chief. This wife, Mathulare, became the mother of the founders of five great tribes, viz. the Pedi, the Kho-I. lokoe, the Phuthing, the Tlhôkwa and the Basia, the descendants of whom are now spread over the Eastern and North-Eastern Transvaal and Basutoland.

The Fokeng have a curious tradition to the effect that they originally came from the North of the Sahara desert ~~from~~ in the direction of Egypt as part of the great Hurutshe nation, from which they separated under Kwene. But when and where they broke away from the main Kwena tribe is not recorded.²

1. Ellenberger - The History of the Basuto, 1912, 31.

2. Massie - The Native Tribes of the Transvaal, 1905, 20.

Chapter II.

But at present a History. Actual is sometimes performed

Most of the Kwena tribes are now scattered over the western part of the Transvaal among other Tswana tribes in the Districts of Pretoria, Rustenburg, Marico, Ventersdorp and Lichtenburg, while a great section is resident in the BaKwena reserve in Bechuanaland Protectorate, under their present paramount chief Kgari Sechele.

How they reached their present scattered state cannot with any certainty be recorded here, because it is to a great extent enveloped in the mystery of the past.

Their traditions go back to an ancient Chief Mogale, who is said to have ruled over the united tribe at Zwartruggens (Mabyanamatshwaana) in the Transvaal.¹

As far as can be ascertained the totem kwena is derived from their great Chief Kwena (kwena means crocodile) some generations after Mogale, when the main stem was still living at Zwartruggens. He was the great crocodile and his people were the people of the Kwena or crocodile (the prefix ba meaning "the people of").

Although there are no actual ceremonies in connection with the worshipping of the crocodile today, the Kwena still have a vague belief that this animal is endowed with supernatural powers and that it can bring destruction and disaster on those who kill it, or who thoughtlessly come into contact with it. They do not know of what nature the disaster will be; some believe that all the people will become insane; some say that all the people will become paralysed; others simply say that all the people will become ill, and even the cattle will be afflicted with disease. This will happen even if a person has secretly hidden a dead crocodile in the village. Thus people will be punished, even if they have not committed any offence themselves.

But at present a certain ritual is sometimes performed after which people may touch the crocodile. A little saliva is rubbed on to its tail with the finger after which the finger is pulled across the person's forehead.

Undoubtedly, in former years, people worshipped this totem animal in the form of certain ritual practices which most probably included a ritual dance, for even today to ascertain a person's totem, it is still customary to ask: - O binang? - What do you dance?^I/₂.

Today perhaps the only thing to foster the belief in the totem animal is the manner of greeting that exists among the members of this tribe. When they greet one another, they generally say: - „Dumela MoKwena!“ They address one another as BaKwena, and besides keeping the belief in the totem alive, this also undoubtedly acts as a binding force and cultivates a feeling of unity in the members of the tribe.

The immediate successors of Kwena are not clearly remembered, and there exists a certain amount of confusion and even contradiction about these. From the time of Tebele, however, there is more uniformity about the traditions. It is said that Tebele was succeeded by his son Mogopa (or Mokgopa as some of the Transvaal Kwena call him) during whose reign there was a severe famine, owing to which the people scattered in all directions in search of food. Some, like the BagaModibedi, BagaMogorosi and BaHlakwana, went as far south as Basutoland where their descendants are still living; and others like the BagaMoletse went east. Mogopa himself with most of the tribe, went along the Odi (Crocodile) river to its junction with the Madikwe (Marico) where they settled at a place called Rathateng. After some time, hearing that rains had fallen at their old home and that food was again plentiful there, Mogopa decided to return. But

1. I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 6.

2. Lestrade - Duggin-Cronin Vol. II, Sec. I, 12.

Kgabo(his brother)and his adherents remained where they were. It was in this way that the Kwena who are now at Molepolole in Bechuanaland, separated from the BagaMogopa whose home is now in the Rustenburg District in the Transvaal under their present paramount chief J.O.M.Mmamogale. Kgabo was succeeded by his son Motshodi, in whose reign the Kwena crossed the Madikwe river into what is now Bechuana-land Protectorate. They finally settled at Motshodi(Mochudi) - Map II - which is called by that name because it ~~was~~ here that this Chief died and was buried.

Motshodi is said to have lived for a very long time and to have been a good Chief. His heir was Legojane but he died during the lifetime of his father, leaving behind a son, Motswasele, who helped to rule the tribe during the last years of Motshodi and who became chief after him. Under Motswasele I who is also called Mmamagana, the Kwena settled at Sokwane some 12 miles north-east of Molepolole. Here, after a long and peaceful reign, Motswasele died and was buried. He was succeeded by his son Seithlamo who moved the village to Dithejwane(Map II). This place was then inhabited by the Bakgwatlheng whom Seithlamo drove away into the desert, where they became MaKgalagadi.

Seithlamo also reigned a long time. He fought several wars with the BaNgwaketse and was at last killed by them. It is said that his death was brought about by one of his sons-- Mooketse. Mooketse, when he grew up, squandered the cattle of his mother's house. For this he was severely scolded by his father whom he now began to hate. One day when the regiments had taken the cattle far away to graze, Mooketse went secretly to Makaba, Chief of the BaNgwaketse, and told him that Seithlamo was at home with only the old men and

the women .The BaNgwaketse thereupon attacked Dithejwane and killed Seitlhamo.

Seitlhamo was succeeded by his son Legwale whose rule was very short.He is remembered chiefly for two wars that he fought,the first against the BaKgatla and the second against the MaBirwe by whom Legwale was killed.

As Legwale's heir Motswasele,was still young when his father was killed,Legwale's younger brother,Maleke,acted as regent.In revenge for the death of Seitlhamo,he attacked the BaNgwaketse,burning their village and killing Makaba's Uncle Tawana.Soon afterwards he was bitten by a mad dog and died. Tshosa,a half-brother of Legwale,then became regent.During his reign the BaNgwaketse attacked the Kwenana but were repulsed. Tshosa then moved the village from Dithejwane to Sokwane where he handed the chieftainship over to Legwale's son MotswaseleII.

During the reign of Motswasele II the tribe was disastrously defeated by the BaNgwaketse in a battle fought at Gapiana,near Lobatsi.Many of the royal headmen were killed and all the Kwenana cattle were looted. Motswasele sent for assistance to the BaKgatla bagaKgafêla with whom he attacked the BaNgwaketse and recovered most of their cattle. Motswasele is said to have been a very bad Chief;he treated his people with much cruelty,robbing them of their cattle and crops,and even their wives,and his customary punishment for any fault was death. Because of this the tribe hated him and he was ultimately assassinated after which the tribe broke into two under Segokotlo,Motswasele's younger brother,and Moruakgomo,the son of Tshosa.Hostilities arose between these two sections;Segokotlo being defeated,fled to the BaNgwato with Motswasele's young sons.

11.

While Moruakgomo with his adherents were staying in the Dithejwane hills they heard that Sebetwane was coming north to attack them, and they fled into the desert towards lake Ngami (Ngabe).

Later the Kwena under Segokotlo, troubled by the MaTebele, fled across the desert towards Lotlhaka. On their way they met the Kwena of Moruakgomo coming back from Lake Ngami. The whole party then returned and settled at Diruthe near the Magalašwe river.

In a battle with the BaNgwato and the people of Sebetwane, the Kwena were defeated, Moruakgomo killed, and Sechele, Motswasele's son was taken prisoner by Sebetwane, whom he accompanied northward to Shua. The BaNgwato heard of his capture and secured his release by paying Sebetwane large quantities of beads and bracelets. Now the Kwena were once more scattered. There were three separate groups. Segokotlo with Molese, Senese, Kgosidintsi (sons of Motswasele) and a small following went to live at Lophephe where his followers assassinated him, saying he was as bad a Chief as his older brother Motswasele. Molese then became the leader of this group.

Kgama, another son of Legwale, had fled east with a following, and built his village on the banks of the Madikwe, near Zeerust.

Another section under Bubi, Moruakgomo's brother in the second house, had fled to Mothathe.

In the meantime Sechele was wandering about the country accompanied only by his mother and four men: Mosimane Mothee, Mogogwe, Segakisa and Dipelese. They met some Boers who came along in a wagon looking for ivory. Mosimane Mothee decided to go with them to see if he could find

any other Kwena. They came to Lophephe where Molese was then ruling. Mosimane was sent back to fetch Sechele. It is said that on the day of Sechele's arrival there was a dance at the Chief's place, but when the people saw him come, they broke up the dance and flocked to greet him. Molese retired to his hut and said nothing. On the evening of the third day, Sechele told one of his men to climb a tree and shout curses at Molese and the latter's regiment. This was a challenge to Molese to fight for the chieftainship, if he wished to do so, but he fled to the Transvaal with only a few followers. Sechele then began to rule over the Kwena at Lophephe. This was about the time Mzilikazi with his MaTebela arrived in ^{the} Western Transvaal. In the fourth year of Sechele's rule the Kwena were attacked, defeated and scattered by the MaTebela of Mzilikazi. At the end of 1837 the MaTebela were badly defeated by the Dutch, and began moving north towards the Limpopo. Sechele followed them and captured some of their cattle. He then returned to Lophephe, and after reaping the harvest, moved the village to Sokwane.

While at Sokwane Sechele was visited for the first time by Dr. Livingstone in 1842. In the meantime the MaTebela had again raided Sechele, who moved the village from Sokwane to Magodimo, thence to Thamaga, and finally to Kolobeng. Here, about 1841, his son Sebele was born. Sechele was baptised by Livingstone at Kolobeng. At that time he had five wives but when he became a Christian he put away four of them, remaining with ~~only~~ Sebele's mother *only*.

In 1851 Sechele moved the village to Dimawe. In 1852 they were attacked and defeated by the Dutch and they moved the village to Dithubaruba at Dithejwane. They settled on the

top of the hill which they fortified with stone-walls, while in the valleys below they dug many pitfalls with large stakes to trap the Dutch if they came again, but they never came again.

After the destruction of Dimawe, Livingstone left the Kwenana, going north to explore the country beyond Lake Ngami. In 1864 the village was moved to Molepolole Hill where it remained until Sechele's death. Here in 1866 the London Missionary Society once again established a Mission.

In 1885 they were persuaded to accept British protection and their country was proclaimed a British Protectorate. Kgama was then the chief of the BaKgatla at Mochudi.

In September 1892, Sechele died. His death was greatly lamented by his people, who still speak of him with considerable affection as the Chief who made their tribe great.

Sechele was succeeded by his son Sebele during whose rule the Kwenana suffered greatly from internal strife due mainly to his bad government, and the tribe declined rapidly in power under him and his successors.

Sebele aroused considerable opposition among his people by neglecting his wife Gorileng, to whom he had been married by Christian rites, and taking as his concubine Bautlwe, the wife of Miko. His sons Kealeboga and Kebofula sided with their mother, as did her brother Baruti Kgosisidintsi and most of the other influential men in the tribe, including all the members of the church. The quarrel between Sebele and Baruti gradually became more bitter and had the effect of splitting the tribe into two. In 1908 things became so bad that Sebele wished to expel Baruti from the tribe, but the Administration managed to bring about a tem-

porary reconciliation. In other respects also, ~~the~~ Sebele's conduct had greatly displeased the tribe. It was a great relief to them when in January 1911, he died.

Sechele was succeeded by his son Kealeboga, who became Chief under the name of Sechele II. Like his father he was an irresponsible drunkard, and although his reign lasted only seven years, he caused much trouble to the tribe. Both the tribe and the Administration found Sechele's rule very unsatisfactory. Trials were often postponed and business seldom attended to, owing to Sechele's frequent drinking bouts. At last it was decided to appoint three councillors to rule with him. This system was still in force when Sechele died in 1917.

Sechele's first wife was Phetogo, daughter of his Uncle Tumagole. By her he begot Sebele, Tumagole, Padi, Mosarwa, Kgari, KgwanyaKgwanya and Malaodi. Sechele was succeeded by his eldest son Sebele, but he was also a failure. He was dismissed by the Administration and his brother Kgari Sechele II (Plate I), the present paramount Chief at Molepolole, was installed in his place on the 11th of June 1931. The present Chief studied at St. Mathews College - C.P. - but he was called to the throne before he could complete his Matricu^{lation} course.

Transvaal Kwena.

According to information gathered from Herman Selon and some of the old men of his village, ^{in July 1939 and again in Sept. 1939} the following few lines can be written about the early history of the Transvaal Kwena.

It is said that their forefathers lived on the banks of the lower Crocodile at a place called Rathateng, under the Chieftainship of Motsele and Mogopa Tsokelele Dimolema.

After a time Motsele's eldest son with a number of people moved to Lekwadi in the Rustenburg District, while the rest of the tribe remained at Rathateng under the chieftainship of Mogopa Tsokelele Dimolema.

Modimosana, the third successor of Mogopa Tsokelele Dimolema, with his followers crossed the Magaliesberg range at the Boschhoek pass and settled at Mafatle (Renosterfontein) south of the Magaliesberg range in the Rustenburg District. Then Motsele's people moved back to Ramakok and from there they crossed the Crocodile and settled at what is known today as Beestekraal. After a time they again moved to Mmamogaleskraal near the present Brits, and from there to Bethanie in the present Mmamogale's location. They are called the Kwena ba Mokgopa (Map I). Today the Kwena ba Mokgopa are scattered in Mmamogale's location, Jericho, Hebron and other places, under their paramount Chief J.O.M. Mmamogale who is resident in Bethanie in the Rustenburg District, and who has a voting strength of 30,000 (the chief votes for his people).

Modimosana had four wives. The eldest son of the first wife was Manemêle; the eldest son of the second wife was Tau (lion), that of the third wife was Morare and that of the fourth was Maâka. The second wife of Modimosana was the "big" wife and therefore the mother of the true heir. Thus Tau was the successor of Modimosana as paramount chief.

At an advanced age, Manemêle married a young girl, 16 years old. His eldest son who was also in love with this young girl, drove his father out of the hut with an assegai and wanted to kill him. For this reason the second son became the heir and successor of Manemêle, the descendants of

whom are today called BaKwena ba Manemêle under their present chief Maemane (Map I).

Tau wa bobedi (Tau the second) was succeeded by Sefofu, who, in his turn, was succeeded by Phulane, the tribe then still living at Renosterfontein. Phulane was succeeded by Sekano, the tribe moving to Molokwani (Selonskraal), a small distance from their previous abode.

Sekano again, was succeeded by Kgasoane and Bogatsu. The latter was never actually chief, because he died before his father Kgasoane, although he assisted his father in ruling the people during the latter's old age. When Mzilikazi invaded the Transvaal, the old and feeble chief Kgasoane was carried by his fleeing people, but they were overtaken by Mzilikazi's regiments and the old chief was murdered. When Kgasoane lived at Molokwani, he had seven sub-chiefs whose subjects were called: Makgongwana, Marope a Ramaditse, ba Masetlha, ba Maãka, ba Manamana, ba Mobana and ba Manemêle.

Then Maseloane became chief, and after Mzilikazi had tried in vain to get hold of Maseloane, in order to kill him, he attempted the following ruse: he invited Maseloane and all the Kwena-subchiefs - telling them that he wanted to make peace - to a big dance which was to be performed in his kraal at Buphie (Buffelshoek) south of the Magaliesberg range, during which occasion every subchief was to be presented with three head of cattle for slaughtering purposes, while Maseloane would receive seven head of cattle.

Maseloane, however, was secretly warned by one of Mzilikazi's indunas, and he fled to the Gatsrand mountains in the Potchefstroom District. On his way he conquered

a regiment of Mizilikazi at Olifantsnek near the present Olifantsnekdam, and he plundered all the cattle. This, of course, caused new hostilities, Mzilikazi pursued him, and he fled into the Orange Free State to the present Koppie-alleen. In the Orange Free State he came into contact with the Voortrekkers under Potgieter who found the name Maseloane rather difficult to pronounce, and called him Selon. There Maseloane's successor, Lekgatlé, was born. When Maseloane went to tell the Boer commandant of the birth of the future Chief, Potgieter said that the name of this child must be Hendrik Selon - the christian name being one of the Boer-leader's own names.

After the Boers had conquered and expelled Mzilikazi, Maseloane moved northwards to the banks of the Renoster river in the Orange Free State, and from there, in 1869, the people again crossed the Vaal with the corpse of their ~~late~~ chief Maseloane in their midst, and settled in the Transvaal at Stompoorfontein near the present Frederickstad, where they buried their late chief.

Maseloane was succeeded by his son Hendrik Selon (Lekgatlé) who again returned to Molokwani (Selonskraal) in 1872. Some years later he moved to the present Grootwagendrift location on the banks of the Elands river just before its confluence with Selons river (called after Selon). Here Hendrik Selon died on the 15th of September 1898 and was succeeded by his son, the present Chief Herman Selon (Thêbe - plate III) who was born in 1872. The reserve of Herman Selon comprises 3103 morgen with 720 people living in the location.

The separation from the main stem, of the Kwena ba Modimosana ba Mmamorare ba Matlaku of the present Tampusstad

location (Map I), happened in the time of Tau and Morare at Molokwani. When Morare and his Mophato (regiment) married, they went to live at the cattle-post to look after his father's cattle. Then their father, Modimosana, said to Tau: "Do not call Morare and his regiment back here, but let them stay where they are; then, after my death, when you have succeeded me, they will have to pay lekgetho (tax) to you as their paramount chief." When Mzilikazi spread terror amongst the Bantu tribes of the Transvaal, MaDintsi was the chief of this subtribe. They fled together with the main stem to the Orange Free State where they remained for a time, but when Maseloane moved Northwards to the Renoster river, MaDintsi with his followers crossed the Vaal and moved to Makgara (Koringfontein) near Zwartdruggens in the Rustenburg District.

MaDintsi was succeeded by Tamos Moshome who bought the ground at the present Tamosstad (VI in map I) to which place they then moved. Tamos Moshome was succeeded by Gasebone Moshome who died in 1904. After his death his eldest living brother, Moshome Moshome, became regent and was in turn succeeded by the second brother Molatlegi Moshome. During his time the young chief Goitseman (who knows it) Moshome (Plate II) became of age and was installed as chief.

The people of Tau and Maâka remained together all the time during their wanderings, and returned together to Molokwani. Hendrik Selom then demanded a lekgetho (tax) of two head of cattle from each of Maâka's subjects. They refused to pay and Selom sent a regiment to take the cattle by force.

That, one of the former Chiefs, of this tribe, had two sons, Makgongwana and Noge. Now some of the people wanted

By the good agency of missionary Fuhls, who then preached the Gospel among them, this subtribe moved to Hartebeestfontein near the present Koster in the Rustenburg District where they still live in the Ratsegaa's location under their present Chief Legwale (reserve No. IV - Map I). This reserve comprises 4945 morgen with four hundred people living in the location. When, in the time of Maseloane, Rampi was the chief of this subtribe, Maseloane ordered Rampi's eldest son - Mokonopi - to be killed, and he installed his sister's child - Legwale Legwale - as Chief of the subtribe.

Genealogy.

Mogopa Tsokelele Dimolema.

Serite.

Tau.

Modimosana.

Tau wa bobedi (Tau the second).

Sefofu.

Phulane.

Sekano.

Kgasoane.

Bogatsu.

Maseloane.

Lekgatle.

Thêbe (Herman Selon).

As regards the Fokeng or Kwena of Phokeng on the Rustenburg-Boschhoek road (reserve no. I - Map I), their first totem animal was a yellow bull (po e tsetla). But now they bina "the Kwena. This came to pass as follows:-

Thête, one of the former Chiefs of this tribe, had two sons, Makgongwana and Nogé. Now some of the people wanted

Makgongwana to be their chief, while others preferred Nogé. Then Makgongwana who was the eldest son but whose followers were in the minority, fled to chief Kgasoane. Many years afterwards, Kgasoane took Mokgatle, Makgongwana's eldest son, back to Phokeng and said to the people: „If you do not accept Mokgatle as your chief, I shall come and kill you all.” Then Nogé fled to Thabanchu in the Orange Free State.

Mokgatle who ^{had been} brought up by the people of the Kwená, accepted this totem animal as his own, and introduced it to his people after he was installed as their Chief.

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Chapter III.

Social Organisation.

Like the other Tswana tribes, the members of the Kwena are settled in one large village in which the chief is resident, with, in Bechuanaland, a number of smaller villages scattered over the area of the reserve, under the jurisdiction of certain headmen. In most cases the larger Kwena villages are situated against mountains or bushy hills, apparently so that they may have a convenient protection in case of attack.

Moreover, a number of boys and men are always at the cattle-posts which are from 20 to 60 miles away from the main village. In the Kwena reserve in Bechuanaland, during the agricultural season, many people stay at the lands some 20 to 30 miles away from the main village. Only after the harvest has been gathered in do they return home.

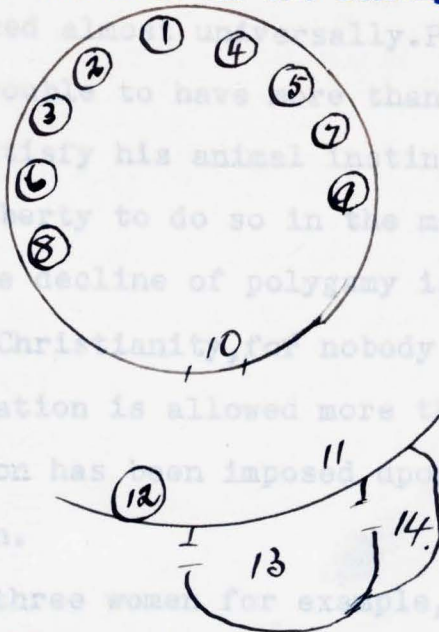
The arrangement of the huts of the village into family-groups and the order of precedence of the huts within the family-group is much more true to tradition in Bechuanaland than in the Transvaal. In the former, people try as far as possible to adhere to the traditional arrangement, where as in most villages of the Transvaal everybody builds where he likes.

This is why the huts of Molepolole appear to be in clusters with big open spaces between them. This gives the village an unduly large appearance, for it is roughly about three miles East-West and two miles North-South.

Each cluster of huts which is encircled by a strong fence of thorn branches, houses a family-group which is called a Kgotlana and which consists of men who are descended from the same father, grandfather and greatgrandfather. There may also be a few female relatives with their husbands and children living within the enclosure of the family-group.

Ofcourse the smallest social group is the household consisting of a man, his wife or wives, dependent children and any other dependants, related or unrelated, who may be attached to him, living in the same enclosure.

The arrangement of the huts in the family-group is as follows:-



The above diagram represents the enclosure of a man and his eight married sons. When a girl marries, she leaves her father's Kgotlana and goes to that of her husband.

Number I is the father's hut, number 2, that is the hut to the right of the big hut, is that of the eldest son. Then follows number 3, the hut of the second son, and so forth in numerical order. No. 10 is the entrance to the Kgotlana and also the exit. No. 11 in a wooden palisade, is the place where the council meets. No. 12 is the fireplace where the herdboys and the milkers sit. No. 13 is the cattlekraal and No. 14 the calves' enclosure.

If a man married eight women the arrangement of the huts of the household would be the same as the above, the first or big wife (mosadi o mogolo) occupying the chief hut, the second wife (mosadi wa bobedi) occupying the hut to the right of the big hut, the third wife (mosadi wa boraro) again to the right of the second wife, the fourth wife (mosadi a boné) to the left of the big wife, and so forth in numerical order.

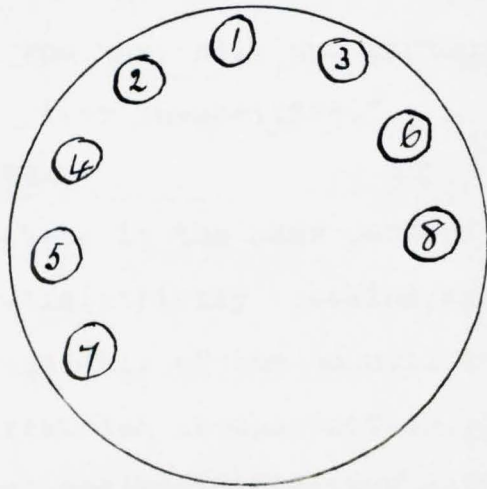
Each wife in a polygamous household has her own house (ntlo) which is independent of the other houses and which has its own property in the form of cattle, fields and household utensils which are inherited within that house.^I

In Bechuanaland there are still exceptional cases where one man has two or three wives, but in the Transvaal monogamy

I. I. Schapeza - Tswana Law and Custom.

has been introduced almost universally. People consider it as unnecessary trouble to have more than one wife, for if a man wants to satisfy his animal instincts with any other woman, he is at liberty to do so in the modern state of corrupt morals. The decline of polygamy is also partly due to the spread of Christianity, for nobody belonging to a Christian congregation is allowed more than one wife. Also, additional taxation has been imposed upon polygamists by the Administration.

If a man married three women for example, and he had five married sons, the arrangement of the huts of the family-group would be as follows:-



1. Hut of big wife.
2. Second wife.
3. Third wife.
4. Eldest married son.
5. Second married son.
6. Third married son, and so forth in numerical order.

In Tamposstad there are thirteen kgotlanas. The names of the kgotlanas are as follows, in order of precedence:-

1. BaMoshome (the people of Moshome).
2. BaMasoko.

may be allotted to this man. That place will then form an extension of the first Kgotlana.

The political administration of the family-group is in the hands of all the adult men of the group, presided over by the eldest living male descendant of their common ancestor. His office is hereditary. The family-group is the setting of the more important domestic events and activities of its constituent families. It deals as a unit with such purely domestic affairs as betrothal and marriage negotiations, the organisation of feasts, and the division of an estate - matters regarded as concerning not only one particular family, but the group as a whole. Its members co-operate in such major tasks as building and thatching huts, clearing new fields, weeding and reaping; and they help one another with gifts of food, livestock and other commodities.¹

The Ward.

A number of family-groups living in the same part of the village make up the ward or Kgotla (strictly speaking, Kgotla usually means the place of assembly of the council, and lekgotla ~~the~~ the body of men assembled at the Kgotla).

The ward is a distinct social and administrative unit of the tribe and it always has its own Kgotla where tribal affairs are discussed under the leadership of the headman. The headman is responsible to the chief for all that goes on in his ward, and is the medium through whom all official communications must be made to its other members. Moreover the headmen of all the wards together constitute an advisory council to the chief, being consulted by him in all cases of emergency.²

1. I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 16.

2. I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 21.

The kgotla of the Chief's ward, situated in the centre of the tribal capital, is the seat of the tribal administration. Here the Chief administers justice, receives reports, and interviews people, and here are held many of the tribal gatherings and ceremonies. The great cattle-kraal adjoining it, is also a place of ritual and political importance.¹ (In plate IV a meeting is being held in Chief Kgari Sechele's kgotla).

No woman is allowed to walk through this kgotla, because, they say, it is not a place for a woman.

All the members of the same ward regard themselves as a body of related people. A man terms the people of his ward ba ga etsho (the people of my home). The Kwena of Bechuanaland have altogether 45 wards.²

In tribal gatherings the people are sometimes called upon to line up according to their wards, while at public feasts, meat and beer are often divided among the people according to their ward affiliation, the members of each ward being served together. The people of each ward also tend to have their fields together in the same localities.³

Chapter IV.

Huts and Native Architecture.

What is true of the arrangement of the Protectorate huts, is also true of their type and structure. At the first glance the visitor to Molepolole will notice the pleasing uniformity in the type and structure of the huts in contrast to the disorderly arrangement of circular huts, rectangular ones with thatched roofs, and houses completely European in structure to be seen in the Transvaal. A glance at one of the Transvaal Villages is really painful to the eye. In Bechuanaland also, however, the beginning of transition is noticeable, in the first instance as regards the manner of thatching and in the second place as regards the shape of the huts (Plates V, VI, VII, VIII and IX). This is a fact which we deeply lament. There is a small number of neatly thatched rondavels and about half a dozen rectangular houses with mud walls and thatched roofs.

1. I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 8.
2 & 3 I. Schapera - Tswana Law and Custom, 21 & 22.

Plate I.



Plate II.

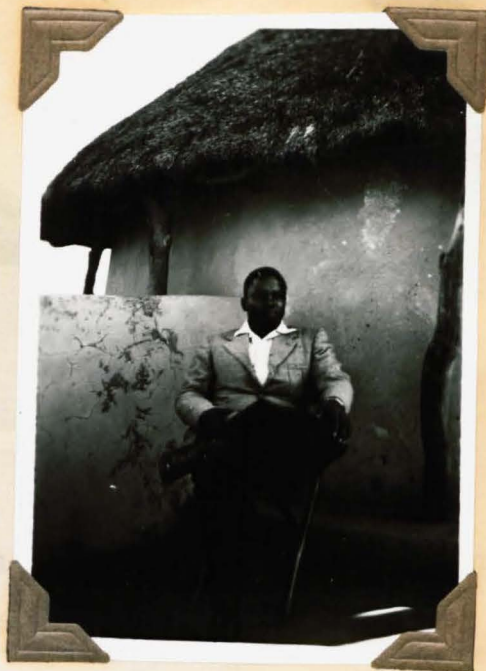


Plate I:- Kgari Sechele, paramount chief of the Bechuanaland Kwena.

Plate II:- Salmon Moshome, chief of the Tamposstad Kwena.

Plate III.



Sitting is Herman Selon (Thebe), Kwena chief at Grootwagendrift location in the Rustenburg District.
 Standing is one of his councillors.

Plate IV.



Meeting at chief Kgari Sechele's Kgotla at Molepolole. In the background the bell can be seen by means of which the people are called together.

Plate V.



Circular hut at Tamosstad - Transvaal.

Plate VI.



Men of Tamosstad busy thatching. The wall of the hut has not been built yet.

Plate VII.



Circular hut at Molepolole - Bechuanaland. Note the bark-strings on the outside of the roof.

Plate VIII.



At Molepolole. A new hut which has not yet been completed. To the left against the wall the setlatla (door) can be seen. It is put across the entrance to the Lelapa at night.

Plate IX.



Rectangular house at Tamposstad - Transvaal.

The Chief's residence is of the most modern European structure, with the most modern European furniture, including a wireless set and electric lights.

Roughly speaking, about 98% of the Bechuanaland huts are still of the old traditional type with the conical roofs. In the Transvaal the circular hut is disappearing rapidly and those still left are mostly used for storing grain, food and cooking utensils. In the village of Herman Selon, on the banks of the Elands river in the Rustenburg District, there is not one single circular hut to be seen. All are rectangular houses with mud walls and thatched roofs, except a few with iron roofs.

As regards the architecture, there also exist vast differences between the Transvaal Kwena and those of the Protectorate.

This will be pointed out in the course of the following description of

The art of hutbuilding.

Having selected an apparently suitable position, the prospective builder consults a diviner. Now the methods these various diviners adopt to ward off evil, differ considerably even in the same village, for in every village there are a number of native doctors and each one has his own secret methods and medicines which he believes to be the most effective, and which he guards jealously so that nobody ever comes to know which ingredients are used in a medicine or how it is prepared.

First the diviner throws his dice to see whether the place on which the hut is to be built is propitious. Nowadays, however, no site is ever declared unsuitable. The man may simply bring a little ground taken from the site on which he intends building, to the doctor who mixes some of his medicine with it and tells the man to go and strew this medicated ground over the site. The doctor prepares a number of sticks and rubs them with a mixture of medicine. Usually Milo or Moretloa are used

both in the Transvaal and in the Protectorate. Usually four sticks are nailed into the ground on the circumference of the circle of poles round the hut. In front one is fixed on either side of the door to guard the entrance against any evil person, and two are fixed so as to guard the back half of the hut. The tops of these pegs are just level with the ground, so that when the floor is put in they are just covered. Sometimes a peg is also put in the centre of the hut, next to the centre pole. The entrance to the lapa (courtyard) is also protected by means of a medicated peg. In Bechuanaland some people also bury two pegs on the sleeping place in the hut, one at the head and one at the feet. They also bury a horn with medicine in each corner of the Lelapa (in Bechuanaland the courtyard is called lelapa - in the Transvaal the prefix is left out). The fact that medicated pegs are put inside the hut, implies that the pegs on the outside of the hut may perhaps fail in guarding the hut against an evil person wanting to enter it. If the doctor uses pegs, he tells the owner of the hut of what kind of wood they are, for the owner is never to use that particular kind of wood again for firewood, or the medicine on these pegs will become ineffective. In Bechuanaland horns of cattle, goats or game are sometimes used as receptacles for the medicine instead of wooden pegs. They are buried on the usual places. Sometimes a horn with medicine is hidden in the grass of the roof. Often, in old deserted huts, where the roofs have fallen in, one can see a horn lying on the floor. This can often be seen on the South-Eastern part of the village of Molepolole whence the people, two years ago, moved to another part. They cannot take the old medicine with them, for when they move to another hut, new medicine has to be prepared. This medicine is never renewed as long as the same man lives in the hut, but any sub-

sequent owner will have to, protect himself with new medicine in that particular hut.

In every case the doctor's fee is one head of cattle or £2-10. The use of these medicated pegs is not limited to dwelling-huts alone; a peg may also be buried on each corner of the land to guard the grain against theft and one is put in the entrance to the cattlekraal to guard the cattle against any sorcerer who may try to bring disease or disaster upon them. When hammering these pegs into the ground the diviner addresses them, saying:- "O ema fa, o dise motho o tlang go utswa, ke mo fitlhele fa, ke mo kree" (You must stay here, guarding the lands against any person coming to steal, keeping him here, so that I can get hold of him).

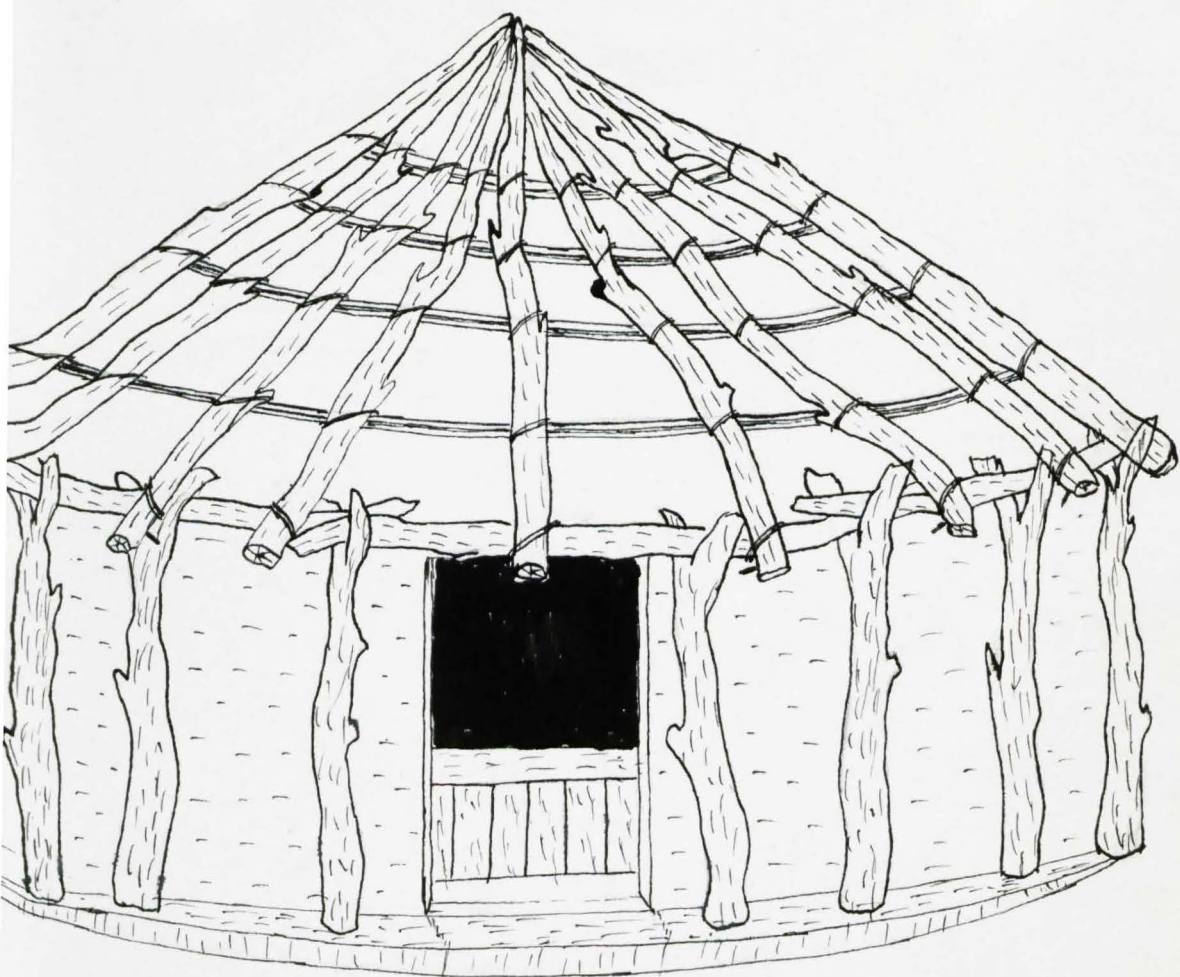
A person may also buy some specially prepared medicine from a doctor and smear it on to his window-sills and doorposts. He may also smear some of this on to his own body and bury some of it in his cattle-kraal and in his lands. Half a pound of this, people say, costs one head of cattle. Unfortunately this medicine has to be renewed every year. If it happens now, they say, that a person enters his neighbour's house with bad intentions, he will, as soon as he crosses the circle of this medicine, become completely paralysed, and totally unconscious as if in a swoon. The owner of the hut will then take a moretloa cane, smear it with the same medicine, and give the offender a sharp cut with it, whereupon the culprit will at once awake out of his unconscious state and realise that he has committed a crime. The owner of the hut will then say: "Now go and fetch me one head of cattle." Having brought the beast, the culprit will get another cut with the moretloa cane and only after this second cut is his sin forgiven and his misdeed completely wiped out. The owner will not make this public, for the culprit has paid for his misdeed.

The same thing will happen, they say,

if a thief goes into a land in which some of this medicine is buried. If he does not go there with bad intentions, nothing will happen.

Hut building usually commences after the harvest in winter, and the work is shared by men and women. Women cut the grass, tie it into bundles of about six inches in diameter and carry them home on their heads, or the men may go and fetch the grass by ox waggon. They do not know exactly, how much grass is required for any particular hut, but only make a rough estimate. If there is some grass left over after they have finished the hut, they can easily dispose of it. The men are responsible for all the woodwork. When all the material is brought together, the building starts. The ground is marked out in a circle with a string or a ~~reel~~^{reel}, one end of which is attached to a peg knocked into the ground and the other end attached to another peg which is drawn at full length around the first, in this way describing a circle. The circumference of the circle is marked more clearly with a spade or with a hoe and a few stones are put on it. Then the women may start building the wall. In Bechuanaland the wall is always first built and afterwards the roof is put on; in the Transvaal the reverse is often the case. Sometimes men and women may work simultaneously. There are no hard and fast rules concerning this in the Transvaal.

In the Transvaal the men first fix the poles in a circle in the ground, then put on the rafters and the framework, after which they thatch the roof. Then the women may start building the wall under the roof, for the roof does not rest on the wall, but is fastened on to poles which are laid crosswise in the forks of uprights (Plate X). There is an overlap of about two feet, and this forms a kind of verandah. The roof is clear of the wall and some people insist that this is a precautionary measure against termites, so that they cannot work up in the wall and thus reach and destroy the roof.



Front half of hut, showing construction of framework.

To build the wall equal amounts of clay and cowdung are well mixed and kneaded with a spade, but more often a hoe is used for a spade is not a woman's implement. This mixing with cowdung, the people say, is to harden and strengthen the wall and to guard it against the effects of rain and the ravages of termites. Then the women start forming mudbricks with their hands, slightly larger than the bricks used by Europeans for building, and every brick that is finished is put in its place on the circle. The bricks are pressed closely together with the hands because they are still soft and pliable. In this process of building a woman uses no implements other than her hands. In Bechuanaland very often round vertical pieces of mud are seen in the walls of which the plaster have come off. These round bricks have obviously been formed with tins.

Very often each layer of the usual type of rectangular brick is alternated with the round vertical type, which gives the wall a rather artistic appearance. In Bechuanaland where stones are abundant we often see some stones and even burnt bricks showing at various spots in the same wall. The people use whatever material they can get hold of.

After every three or four layers - it depends upon the size of the hut - the building is stopped and the finished piece of wall is plastered to a thickness of about 1 to 1½ inch (Plate XI). This is also done by hand, using the same mud as was used for building the wall. If the wall is already too dry, it is first sprinkled with water, after which the women simply take handfuls of mud and apply it to the wall (Plate XI). After this another three or four layers of bricks are put on, and the work is carried on in the same way until the wall has reached the correct height, after which the whole inner and outer surfaces of the wall are thinly plastered with some fine, sifted ground mixed with cowdung, leaving a rather smooth surface. When finished, the wall is about nine inches thick. In subsequent years, when patches of the old plaster have fallen off, a new layer is simply put over the old one, so that in many walls, especially those of the lapa, three or four distinct layers of plaster are distinguishable, and gradually the wall becomes thicker and thicker.

Plate XI.

A woman in Bechuanaland busy plastering. Note the heap of clay in the foreground.



Usually a woman does the building by herself, only assisted sometimes, by her elder children and sometimes by a relative. As far as the erection of the walls is concerned, every woman knows how to build.

Around the front half of the hut, against the wall, a small stoep (Maribela) of about 18 inches wide, and from six to eight inches high, is made by women for people to sit on. When building this maribela in Bechuanaland, the women leave three or four places in it hollow for hens' nests; the tops of these hollow places are covered with *Moretloa* sticks put closely together and then covered and plastered with mud, so that, from the outside, the maribela appears to be solid, except for the rather small holes on the side through which the hen has to enter. This is to protect the eggs from theft by dogs.

The wall of the Lapa is erected by women in the same way as that of the hut; so also is the wall of the backyard or Segotlo in which the Letlole or storehut is built. In this hut, grain, food and cooking utensils are stored.

The floors of the hut, the Lapa and the Segotlo are put in to a thickness of about one inch by women who use the ordinary mixture of mud and cowdung (Plate XII). After it has been left to dry for half a day or so, the surface is rubbed smooth with a small flat stone. The woman kneels down, first sprinkling some water over the surface, after which she takes the stone in both hands and rubs the surface until it is hard and shiny. After this, it is occasionally smeared with cowdung. Some women of the Transvaal use the leaves of the *Datura Stramonium* as a polish. It leaves a fine, dark, shiny surface.

Now as regards the work of the men. We have already referred to part of it. The prospective builder instructs his wife to prepare beer, after which he publicly announces his intentions

Plate XII.



A woman putting in
the floor of the
lapa - Transvaal.

Of building a hut, saying:-, "Ke dira letsima la go aga ntlu" (I make beer to build a house). Then other men will come and assist him, while, as compensation, they get an occasional drink during the course of the work, and after the work has been completed beer is served to them to drink to their hearts' content.

Only the bigger huts get a centre-pole (pinagare). In the smaller huts the thin ends of the rafters are simply tied together at the top with a reim. Now all along the inside of the rafters, concentric circles of reeds or poplar boughs are fastened with bark about a foot apart, for the grass to rest on. It is interesting to note that no single nail is used in the construction of this old type of hut.

Then the thatching begins. Not all men can thatch in the modern way such as is employed in the Transvaal. They start from the bottom and work upwards. The bundle of grass is loosened and spread out evenly to the required thickness with the uncut ends upwards. A flexible moretloa-stick is laid crosswise on the lower half of the grass and laced to the inner bough by means of an eight- or ten-inch needle made from a piece of reed or a piece of plank, and of a string of Mimosatree bark (moka), or even string bought at a European store.

In thatching the hut illustrated in Plate VI, thread of plaited tulip was used. To do this work two men are needed; one has to stand on a table inside the hut, and one has to be on the roof. In this way they proceed with the first layer right round the hut, after which they put on the second layer, so that every succeeding layer covers the moretloa sticks of the preceeding layer on the outside of the roof. In some huts the lower ends of the grass of each layer are brushed upwards with a plank, so that the roof, when finished, has a neat, even surface. This type of hut, of which the roof has a smooth surface, usually gets a peak of flat iron, which contributes to the neat appearance of the hut. In the ordinary type of hut the cap for the peak is made as follows:- A rather big bundle of grass is loosened and the uncut ends are tied firmly together, after which the bundle is turned inside out and tied on to the peak with a piece of bark.

In the Protectorate, thatching is the work of women and there is a vast difference between their way of thatching and that of the Transvaal Kwenas. As Molepolole, their chief village, is situated on the border of the Kalahari, the women go to the sandy hills and pull out the grass, roots and all. Sometimes hoes are used if the grass will not come out readily. Beginning from the bottom and working upwards, this grass is loosely arranged on the framework of the hut with the roots towards the inside of the hut, so that no roots can be seen from the outside of the hut. The cap on the roof is fitted in the same way as in the Transvaal.

When the grass has been packed on to the framework, long strings of bark (Moka) are fastened right around the hut to keep the grass in position (Plate VII). But this is the Kwenas' most primitive way of thatching and it may be expected that it will be discontinued ere long, because of its temporary

nature. After the strong winds have ceased every year, and before the rainy season sets in, there is always a great deal of reparation to be done, and as the better type of thatching has already been introduced into this village, people will probably soon abandon the old type of thatching.

In this old type of hut, even the doors and windows are now usually of European manufacture. In some huts the doors and small windows are made from planks bought in European stores. In many cases in the Transvaal, a loose piece of corrugated iron is used as a door in the entrance to the lapa. In Bechuanaland a door called setlatla, woven with moretloa sticks and withies is put across the entrance to the lapa at night. There are a few cases, however, where reed doors are being used (see setlatla in plate VIII).

We can fix no definite time which a hut takes to build. It all depends upon the people themselves, whether they are in a hurry to get the hut finished or not. In Bechuanaland it often happens that the roof is put on six months after the wall has been completed. Then again there are cases where everything has been finished except the thatching, which may be postponed for another three or four months.

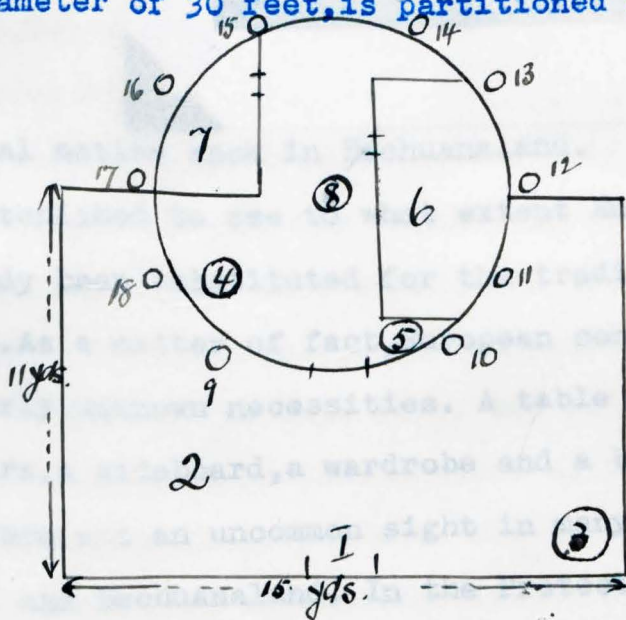
The fixing of the poles into the ground, the putting on of the framework and the thatching of the hut, illustrated in plate VI, took the men only two days.

In the left hand corner of the courtyard (lapa), is the fireplace where the ordinary daily cooking is done, except during cold or rainy weather when fire is made inside the hut. Further, the lapa is the place where the owner of the hut receives his visitors, and sometimes, also, they eat there.

In the segotlo (backyard), just in front of the letlole or storehut, the beer is made and the mabele (kafir corn) is threshed. Sometimes this is done in the lands (Plate XIV). Some huts have no segotlo at all.

The work of decorating the walls of the huts falls within the domain of the women, but at present this is not done on an extensive scale. Most huts have not been painted at all. The walls of some huts and yards are painted in various designs, some of which are rather complicated, in red, white or yellow colouring. These paints are made of certain kinds of clay and crushed stone mixed with water. It does not seem as if the people attach any symbolic meaning to the variously coloured designs.

The rectangular type of hut usually has three rooms - a sitting room and two bedrooms, one on each side of the sitting-room. In Bechuanaland the circular type of hut has no partition at all. In the Transvaal some of the bigger huts - the ordinary hut has a diameter of about 15 feet - may be divided into a number of rooms. One of these huts, a fairly big one, with a diameter of 30 feet, is partitioned as follows:-

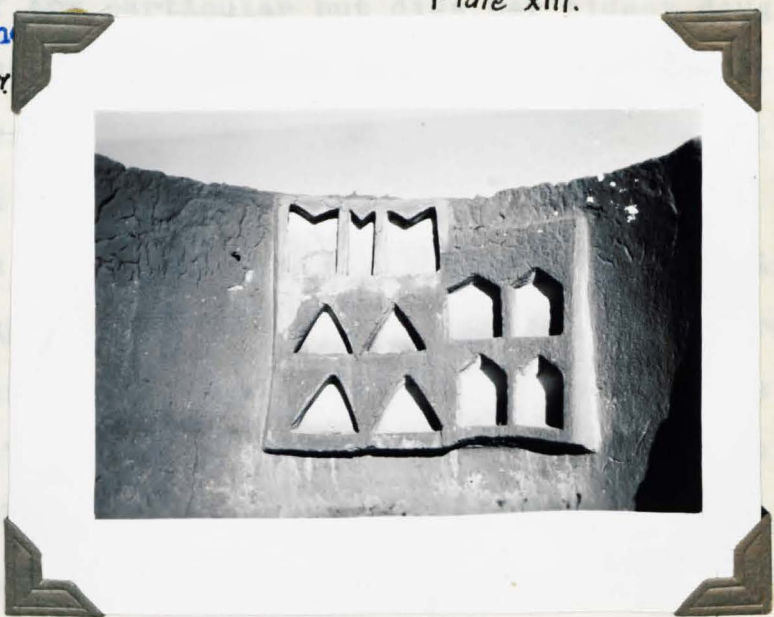


- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Entrance to Lapa. | 6. Bedroom. |
| 2. Lapa. | 7. Pantry. |
| 3. Fireplace (2 feet diameter). | 8. Middlepole. |
| 4. Fireplace in hut - a hollow | 9 - 18. Poles on |
| 2 inches deep, lined with stones. | which the roof rests. |
| 5. Granary (Sefalana). | |

Another distinguishing characteristic of the Bechuanaland huts is the traditional rack(Plate XIII) made against the inner surface of the wall,with shelves of every possible shape and design.It is made by women from the same material as is used for the walls and is reinforced with moretloa sticks which is then covered with mud.But this simple,though efficient native rack is gradually being superceded by the European kitchen

Plate XIII.

dresser



Traditional native rack in Bechuanaland.

One is astonished to see to what extent European furniture has already been substituted for the traditional native necessities.As a matter of fact,European contact has created new,formerly unknown necessities. A table of European design,chairs,a sideboard,a wardrobe and a bedstead with white bedding,form not an uncommon sight in many a hut of both the Transvaal and Bechuanaland. In the Protectorate the wooden bedstead with riempie mat,made by the people themselves, is widely used. Every woman is the mistress of her hut,and she is the real owner of all the household utensils.Notwithstanding this,in the event of a divorce,her husband remains in possession of the hut,and he uses it for a storehut.When he marries another

Domestic animals, Agriculture, Food and Hunting.

woman he will not present her with this hut. Her parents would not allow him to do so, for it is believed that it would cause the marriage to be unhappy. The divorced woman's children stay in that hut until they are married. If they are still small, the woman takes them with her. The man may give his divorced wife such household utensils as he likes.

If a woman of any particular hut dies, her eldest daughter will inherit that hut and she will look after her brothers and sisters just as her mother used to do. She will also inherit all the household utensils, but she usually shares them with her sisters. If the children are all still too small to stay by themselves in that hut, some close relative e.g. a sister of their late mother, will undertake to look after them. They are never entrusted to another wife of the father, for she may maltreat them.

If the father dies, the eldest son will inherit all his personal possessions such as weapons, clothing, agricultural implements, together with his cattle, but as in the case of the eldest daughter, he also shares the inheritance with his brothers. As a rule, girls do not possess cattle, although there are exceptions to this rule. One of my informants replied to a question on this subject as follows:— "Why must a girl possess cattle if she eats her father's food?" Sometimes when a girl marries, her father may present her with a few beasts, and her husband will not have the right to dispose of these cattle in any way, without his wife's consent.

At the cattle-posts boys still indulge in the sport of riding yack-oxen, and often use this means of conveyance to pay visits to neighbouring posts. A hole is pierced

Chapter V.

Domestic animals, Agriculture, Food and Hunting.

In Bechuanaland and the Western Transvaal where the rainfall is very irregular and where the lands cannot be irrigated, the people attach much more importance to their cattle than to agriculture, which, in those parts is undoubtedly a hazardous pursuit. In Bechuanaland there are fiftyseven-thousand head of cattle in the Kwena reserve with its area of approximately fifteen-thousand square miles (map II).

In the Kwena reserve of Tampusstad in the Transvaal, twenty-thousand head of cattle are kept on about twenty-five-thousand morgen, which means that the reserve is overstocked, notwithstanding the fact that the last-mentioned figures include 12 thousand morgen of newly scheduled area which has been allotted to them recently.

The cattle are usually kept at cattle-posts some thirty to sixty miles away from the village. They get their water supply from wells and boreholes. At many places in the Protectorate there are big pans which hold water almost all the year round. Wells are usually sunk to a depth of thirty to forty feet, and water is drawn up with a windlass and bucket, and poured into a wooden trough for the cattle to drink.

In Bechuanaland every cattle-owner has his own registered brandiron with a number and the owner's initials on it. The cattle are also marked on the ears. In the Transvaal, in addition to earmarks, all the people brand their cattle with the Chief's brand-iron. The herdboys know the cattle so well that there is hardly ever a dispute as to the ownership of any particular beast.

At the cattle-posts boys still indulge in the sport of riding pack-oxen, and often use this means of conveyance to pay visits to neighbouring posts. A hole is pierced

Sometimes, when the lands are big and when people are in a hurry, reaping is still done in a communal way, by men and

14A
through the septum of the animal's nose by means of a long thorn(Moselesele) which is first sharpened on a sandstone. A piece of barkstring of the Mosu(Mimosa) is then twined on the thigh,put through the hole,and used as reins.

The Kwena do not slaughter many cattle nowadays,as they attach too much value to them.Animals which have died of disease,however,no matter of what disease,will be eaten in any state of decomposition.

Both goats and sheep are kept by the Kwena although the former are not numerous. Among the Transvaal Kwena the flesh of a pig is generally considered a great delicacy. In the village of Molepolole,the keeping of pigs is prohibited by the chief for hygienic reasons. A number of horses and donkeys are kept,although not many.Very often donkeys are used to carry heavy loads from one place to another,and also,sometimes,to carry the grain from the lands to the store-hut.

Agriculture.

Kafircorn(mabele) is the principal crop of all the Kwena tribes. In Bechuanaland the lands are as much as twenty and thirty miles away from the village so that most people have special homesteads at the lands where they stay during the agricultural season. This,however,is generally not the case in the Transvaal where the lands are from two to five miles away from the village. They also cultivate a little maize,but this is as a rule not allowed to ripen. Moreover,native beans(ditlo and dinaoa),pumpkins,sweet-cane,makgomane and melons are also cultivated,but to a much lesser extent than kafircorn from which their staple food,bogobe yea tieng,and their favourite and most popular beverage,boyaloa,are made.

Nowadays the plough and oxen are used in tilling the lands. Sometimes,when the lands are big and when people are in a hurry,reaping is still done in a communal way,by men and

women together, beer being served as a compensation for the friends' services. Nowadays the corn is usually threshed in the lands (Plate XIV and XV), after which it is conveyed home in bags by oxwaggon or sledge. In Bechuanaland, donkey transport is sometimes used. First the threshing floor is prepared. A suitable spot is cleaned of grass, and levelled. The women then make a circular mudfloor with a two-inch ridge all round, and smear it with cowdung. Then the threshing starts. They kneel all round the heap of corn-ears which lies in the centre of the floor. To the rhythmical thud of the sticks which they wield with both hands, accompanied by singing, the threshing is then done. Every now and then, fresh corn ears are thrown in. When all is finished, the grain is winnowed by women to separate the chaff from it. For this purpose a conical basket called *tlatlana* is used. It is filled with corn, and taking it in both her hands, the woman lifts it above her head and pours out the grain in a thin, even stream so that the wind may blow out the chaff (Plate XV). Then the grain is ready for transportation to the village.

The staple food of the Kwena - bogobe yea tieng - is prepared as follows:- The grain is soaked in water and then stamped in a stamping-block (Plate XVI). Often two women, or a woman and her daughter are seen stamping in the same block simultaneously, for as soon as a girl is able to lift the rather heavy stamper, she has to commence learning how to stamp, so that this household duty can gradually be transferred from mother to daughter. After it is stamped, the grain is winnowed in a large, flat basket, called *lesélo* (Plate XLV). It is tossed up repeatedly to separate the husks from the grain. After this it is ground on a grinding-stone into fine

Plate XIV.



Threshing corn at the lands. Note the heap of cornears in the background.

Plate XV.



Winnowing
grain at the
lands.

Plate XVI.



Mother and
daughter, stam-
ping mabele.

white meal. The woman does this in a kneeling position, taking a rather small roundish stone in both her hands and grinding the grain with this stone on a big, heavy, flat stone which slopes down towards her (Plate XVII).

Plate XVII.



Woman grinding kafir-corn.

In the village of Molepolole in Bechuanaland, very few grinding-stones are to be seen. Most of the people use small machines of European manufacture to grind their grain. If a woman does not possess a machine she borrows that of her neighbour and pays for the loan with a little meal. Grinding-stones, however, are still extensively used at the lands of these people, where they stay during the agricultural season. The meal is then stirred into a pot with boiling water until it is of the consistency of thick porridge. Then the pot is removed from the fire and some cold water is added to the porridge after which it is put away for about half a day to ferment. Another pot with water is put on the fire and when this boils, a number of spoonfuls of yeast is stirred into this water and cooked for about half an hour after which the bogobe yea tieng is ready for consumption. If, after the yeast has been stirred into the water, they find that the porridge is too sour, a little more meal may be added to it.

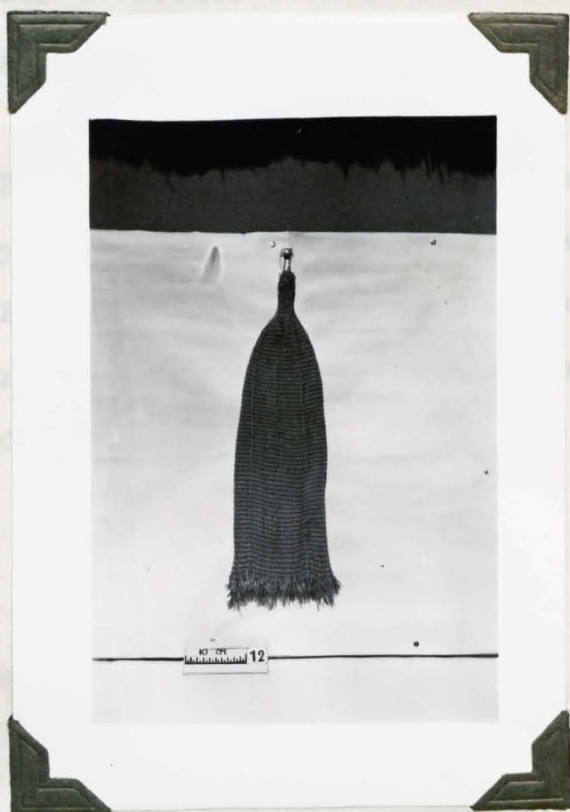
The cooking is usually done in iron pots. The stirring is done with a big wooden spoon. The porridge is dished up and served in round, wooden bowls, called mogope, made from Morula wood (Plate LXIII), and small wooden spoons are used for eating. In many cases, however, especially in the Transvaal, metal spoons are now being used.

As regards the brewing of their favourite beverage, boyaloe, which is not only of much nutritive value, but which is also of immense social and economical significance in the lives of the people, the recipe is as follows:-

The grain is soaked for two days in pots with water, after which it is put into other pots and left there for about four days to germinate sufficiently. Then it is spread out in the sun for about a day and a half, to dry. An equal amount of dry corn is now mixed with this germinated corn and the whole is ground on the grinding-stone. Water is put on the fire in big iron pots, and as soon as the water boils, the pots are taken off the fire and the meal is stirred into the boiling water with a big wooden spoon. Next these pots are covered and put away for about three hours, when cold water is added until each pot is full. Then the contents of these iron pots are all poured into one or two large clay pots which are specially made for this purpose. Some of these clay pots are as much as 30 inches high and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. The people say that the fermentation of grain in iron pots would cause the beer to become poisonous. Next about half a bucket of germinated grain is ground and stirred into the dough in the clay pots, after which it is left to stand for a day. Then a few pots of water are again put on the fire. The dough in the clay pots is then stirred into the boiling water and cooked for a few hours after which the pots are removed

from the fire and stirred until the mixture is cold. Then some cold water and another half a bucket of meal ground from germinated corn, are added to the contents of the pots. All this is then again poured into big clay pots and left to ferment for one day after which it is strained through a beerstrainer (Plate XVIII). Then, at last, after a rather complicated process, and one which undoubtedly requires a certain amount of experience in the brewer, the beer is ready for consumption. In all, the process of beerbrewing takes about four days.

Plate XVIII.



Beerstrainer.

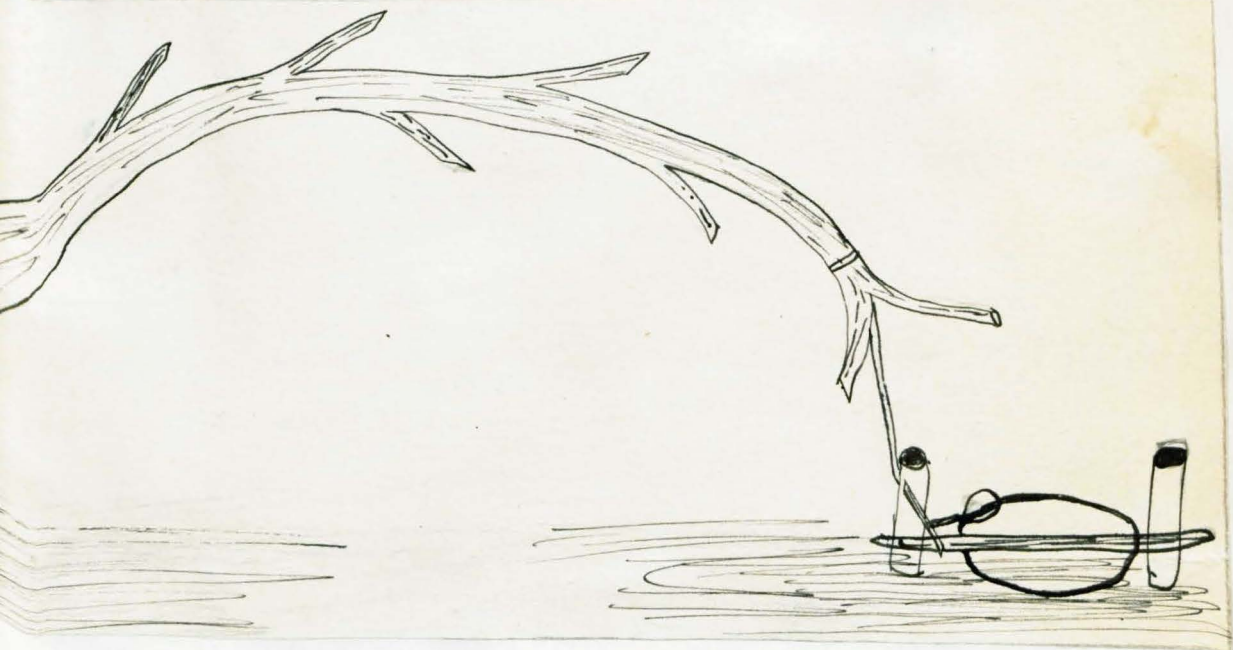
The chaff which is separated from the beer by means of the strainer, possesses a highly nutritive value, and people insist that there is nothing to equal it in fattening pigs and cattle. At Molepolole the visitor will often see a number of women carrying tlatlana filled with this beer chaff on their heads, walking in single file to dispose of it at the local stores. By balancing various things such as baskets, clay pots and tins on their heads, the women acquire a beautiful straight carriage. We often see girls at a fairly early age doing this balancing most skilfully.

Beer does not contain much alcohol, so that large quantities have to be consumed before it has any marked effect on the drinker. It is not altogether devoid of solid matter so that it is extremely nourishing, and people may replace many a meal with beer. As long as they have beer they do not worry much about food. There is always some beer procurable in every village throughout the week and throughout the year as long as the mabele lasts, and it is obtainable at approximately sixpence a gallon. Calabashes are still universally used as drinking vessels for beer. This will be discussed later in the course of this study.

Hunting.

Among the Transvaal Kwenas, hunting is a thing of the past, owing to the scarcity of game and wild animals. Men may set traps procured from European stores, to catch hares at night, and boys may set snares for birds (Plate XIX) or chase hares with dogs in the veld.

Plate XIX.



Birdsnare. Grain is scattered over the loop which is covered with sand. If the bird tramples on the cross-stick, the bough is released and the bird is caught round the leg or round the neck.

Even in Bechuanaland today, where game is still fairly abundant, the people hardly ever go out on an organised hunting-expedition. People say that this practice was discontinued a few years ago, when, on their last hunt, two men were badly mauled by a leopard, and the Chief was accidentally almost shot by one of the men. Every man of the Protectorate Kwenas is entitled to possess a Henry Martini and to procure one hundred cartridges per annum. Nowadays people usually set iron traps, especially for beasts of prey. Even leopards are captured in this way and then killed with clubs. Game pits are prohibited because domestic animals and even human beings may fall into them.

There exists a lively trade in skins of all varieties in the Protectorate and they stream in from all parts of the Kalahari to the storekeepers, who buy them and distribute them among certain specialised kaross-makers. The latter convert them into mats and karosses of every imaginable colour-scheme and design.

We cannot lay down any hard and fast rules as to which wild animals are eaten by the Kwenas and which are not, because some of them eat certain wild animals which others do not eat. On the whole, carnivora are avoided. Most people do not eat fish as they are regarded as being akin to snakes. On the whole locusts are considered a great delicacy. The locusts are put into a big pot, alive, and are cooked in their own steam after which they are dried in the sun. Occasionally some are warmed up again, the wings and legs broken off, and the rest is eaten.

Chapter VI.Clothing and ornaments.

The old Bantu dress has been almost wholly superceded by European dress, even among such distant tribes as the Bechuanaland Kwenas. Undoubtedly a great stimulus towards this transition has always been given by the people who work on the Rand and then periodically go home to rest for a few months.

The N.R.C. (Native Recruiting Corporation) has its officials at Molepolole and about two thousand natives are recruited for the mines, yearly.

As a matter of fact, the visitor to Molepolole is rather disappointed to find that as far as the clothing is concerned, the natives there are almost wholly Europeanised. There are no less than six stores - three European and three Indian - to supply the people's needs.

At Molepolole one will not see such big girls wearing the makgabe (fringes in front) and the mukutwane (skin behind) as in plate XX of girls of Tamosstad. In fact, Tamosstad is the only village of the Transvaal-Kwena where such big naked girls are still to be seen, and even here this method of dressing is rapidly disappearing, for the few girls who are still sometimes clad in this traditional and economical native clothing, feel that they are the rare exceptions to the rule. Moreover, other people, especially men, are passing remarks on their big breasts. That is why, in addition to this native dress, some now wear a blanket to cover the breasts.

Small girls under school age still wear the makgabe fairly commonly, both in the Transvaal and in Bechuanaland.

and hanging loosely in front of the genitalia, partly covering them. Formerly this little apron was prepared from softened goat- or ducker skin. Except this small piece of garment, the little boy goes completely naked. But this custom regarding small boys and girls may also be rapidly disappearing.

Girls wearing the
makgabe and the mukutwane
- Tamposstad, Transvaal.

Note the maseka (wire-
bracelets) round the
legs, just below the
knees.



The makgabe is made by their mothers from string procured from the local stores. The string is twined on the woman's thigh and cut to suitable lengths of which the upper ends are fastened to a girdle of beads and the lower ends are knotted to prevent the string from untwining again. Then this makgabe is smeared with goat fat or sheep fat, so that, after a time, it acquires a dark brown colour. It is worn to cover the pudenda, the lower ends of the fringes reaching halfway to the knees.

The mukutwane is a softened goat- or sheepskin from which the hair has been removed. It is worn tied around the waist by the legs, the skin hanging down at the back, covering the buttocks. Small girls up to six years or so, only wear the makgabe without the mukutwane.

Small boys up to five or six simply wear a small cloth apron called tséga, stitched to a girdle round the waist, and hanging loosely in front of the genitals, partly covering them. Formerly this little apron was prepared from softened goat- or duiker skin. Except this small piece of garment, the little boy goes completely naked. But this custom regarding small boys and girls may also be considered as rapidly disappearing.

Women usually wear a skirt of blue print and a blouse of other material. Many women, both in the Transvaal and in Bechuanaland, already have their own sewing-machines and they make their clothes themselves. Some act as dressmakers for those who are less fortunate and cannot afford a sewing-machine.

Around her head the older woman wears a two-yards piece of cloth, which is often of a bright colour. Many women, and most girls wear knitted caps which they themselves have made. Their foot-wear is usually of European manufacture except that some women and girls still sometimes go barefoot, and that some women and girls in Bechuanaland still wear the native-made sandal called rampeitshane. The rampeitshane is made from a piece of thick hide which is a little bigger than the foot itself, so that it projects a little all round the foot. In this projecting part, at various places, little slots are made, through which pieces of thong are passed, one passing between the big toe and the second toe, to meet another thong across the instep, and one at the back round the heel. To remove the sandal the thong round the heel is simply slipped down. In many cases, especially as regards men, leather soles are replaced by rubber soles prepared from old motor tyres, the latter of course, lasting much longer than the former.

In the Transvaal the wearing of rampeitshane is confined to men and boys.

What must also be included with women's apparel is the thari or the skin in which the baby is carried on the mother's back. It is usually a softened goat- or sheepskin, with the front legs fastened round the mother's waist, the hair or wool being on the inside. The baby is then put in and the two hindlegs are tied in front, one passing over the right shoulder and the other under the left arm (Plate XXI).

Mother carrying
baby in thari.



In this way the mother does all her ordinary work with the baby sitting comfortably on her back with its little black head just popping out, and very often it is fast asleep with its drooping little head showing over the top part of the thari. Occasionally, when the child becomes too fretful, it is taken out of the thari by the mother and put to her breast. These native mothers have no fixed times of feeding their children. Perhaps this chiefly accounts for the fact that so many of the children suffer from diarrhoea and die prematurely.

There is also some superstition connected with this thari. If an evil-disposed person secretly takes the thari of an expectant mother and makes a few knots in the legs, the mother and child will both die at the confinement. Therefore, when the confinement is extraordinarily difficult, a diviner is consulted and if he ascribes this to knots having been made in the thari, he orders the thari of the child born last to be brought to him. He then proceeds to cut off a piece of this thari, burns it to charcoal, after which he pounds it and mixes it with medicine. The woman

takes this mixture to loosen the child.

The skin thari is at present very rare both in the Transvaal and in Bechuanaland, notwithstanding the fact that skins are so abundant in the last mentioned country. Most women nowadays use blankets for this purpose.

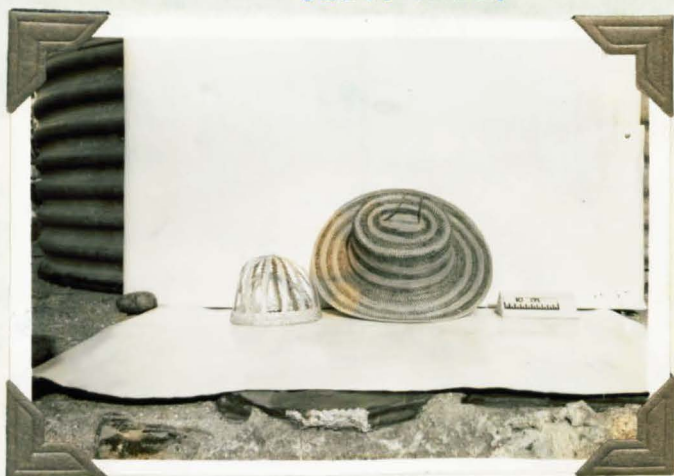
On the whole the apparel of men and boys is completely European, except that some men and boys wear rampeitshana of hide or rubber. At Molepolole you do not see men wearing rampeitshana any more. Some men of the Protectorate-Kwena give themselves out as bootmakers and make their own boots on the European pattern from local material. The softened skin of the Hartebeest and Koodoo is used for leather and the hide of the Eland is used for soles. Those locally made boots are usually kept in stock by the storekeepers who sell them to the people.

These Bechuanaland people also manufacture riding-breeches from the softened skin of the steenbuck. They are made on a completely European pattern, the seams being sewn together with animal sinew. These are stained with the pounded roots of the Mositsane tree mixed with water so that it has a reddish colour (Plate LXXII) a man wearing a pair of riding-breeches).

The only piece of traditional men's- or boy's clothing that is now left, is the grass hat (Plate XXII). The kind of grass used for these hats is called maseka and it usually grows in marshy valleys. The hatmaker, usually a boy, uses narrow strips of moretloa-bark for thread and a thorn for a needle; with these he sews the concentric circles of grass together commencing at the centre of the crown of the hat, and always pulling the bark through the mouth, thus moistening it and keeping it pliable. The brim of the Transvaal hat is usually as little as two inches wide, while that of Bechuanaland may

be as much as five or six inches wide. The boys sell these small-brimmed hats for the trifling sum of sixpence each, because they do not consider making them to be arduous work. It is done in the veld, mainly as a pastime, while they are herding the cattle or the sheep.

Plate XXII.



Left: Covering for the head, made from plaited grass.

Right: Grass hat - Bechuanaland.

What has been described so far is the usual daily apparel of the Kwena, except, of course, that the oldest clothes are worn in the daily work while the best looking are put away for Sundays or for other special occasions. Even the initiation ceremonies during which the young initiates used to wear a peculiar traditional clothing, have now been altogether abandoned by the Kwena. While in this school, the girls used to wear skirts made from reeds sewn together with bark so that they made a rattling sound when the girls walked. The upper part of the body was left completely uncovered. Further the young initiates would besmear their bodies with charcoal and ashes. The boys' initiation school, which, like that of the girls, lasts about three months, and usually takes place in Winter after the harvest, was last held in 1938 at Koffiekraal near Tamosstad, from which place a number of boys also attended it. Plate XXIII is a photograph of a number of boys having their breakfast just prior to leaving the village for their temporary abode in the veld.



Boys' Bogoera (initiation school) - Transvaal.

The young initiates can be seen here wearing only the tséga which consists of a softened goatskin from which the hair has been removed. It is fastened with the legs round the waist, the skin hanging down in the front, and then passed between the legs and tucked into the belt behind. Further, each boy wears rampeitshanes on his feet and carries a club with which the uninitiated are frightened away, and even killed if they dare approach the secret enclosure.

Ornaments.

As regards traditional ornaments the Kwena are very poor. The ornaments worn by women consist mainly of beads and bracelets. Beads are worked into necklaces and girdles, the latter being mostly used by young girls wearing the makgabe, and the former by women. Bracelets are worn by girls, boys, and by some women, round the ankles, the wrists and the legs, just below the knees. Only two or three bracelets are worn round each of the above-mentioned parts of the body, and even this ornament is showing a tendency towards disappearance, perhaps^{because} people are beginning to realise that it is detrimental to the free circulation of the blood. Very often one can see young boys or girls with these bracelets cutting deep into the muscles of their legs. If the bracelet will not go over the child's heel, it is put over with the help of soap-lather.

These bracelets are made by men with copper-wire, purchased at the European stores. It is wound round a core of hair obtained from the tails of cattle or horses. The core is first prepared into the required size. Then a few initial twists of the wire are made round the core by hand. Next the core is put on an even plank and a horn which on the underside is somewhat flattened is put on these initial ~~tw~~ twists and drawn firmly towards the worker's body, revolving the core and thus twisting the wire further and further round the core. At the same time the left hand holds the wire, which passes through the slit of a stick, in position. When finished, the wire is nipped off and the end is fastened neatly (Plate XXIV).

Plate XXIV.

A Mokwena at Molepolole making wire-bracelets. In demonstrating the process, he used an ordinary piece of wire for the core, as he did not have any hair at that time. It took him about three minutes to finish one bracelet and they are sold at a penny each.



Nowadays people, both men and women, who have their ears pierced, usually wear European earrings, although in Bechuanaland there are some of the old people (men and women) who still wear the native-made earring of twisted wire.

The child's ears are pierced with a needle by its mother, a double thread of cotton is put through the holes and the ends are knotted together. Every day thereafter, the cotton is pulled to and fro so that while the ear is healing the hole cannot close again. When it is thoroughly healed the earrings are put in.

Among the Kwenas there is no scarification for decorative purposes. One often sees vertical scars on the temples of men and women. These have been inflicted by the native doctor who sucked some blood out of the patient by means of a horn, to relieve him of a headache, which, according to native beliefs, is caused by an abnormal accumulation of blood.

No colouring whatsoever is used on the faces and other exposed parts of the bodies of women.

Most of the old men are bearded, but the young men are all cleanly shaven.

The young children's heads are sometimes cleanly shaven, while bigger children and adults try to control the natural growth of the hair by means of a modern innovation, the European comb. But on account of the peppercorn formation the hair seems to be rather obstinate and will not readily submit to the moulding influence of the comb. In any case, adults do not wear their hair very long, and it is occasionally cut with scissors.

In plate XXV we see the heavy copper neck-ring worn by women in olden days. These rings were valued at one head of cattle each.

In the olden days, upon the death of a woman, they sometimes did not remove this ring immediately but buried the corpse in a sitting position in the cattle-kraal, with a Moselesele stick hooked through the ring and with the other end of the

stick just visible above the ground, to mark the exact position of the grave. The Moselesele is very hard and is never eaten by ants. When the relatives think that the body has decayed sufficiently, the top of the grave is partly opened by digging down the Moselesele stick, and then they pull the ring up with the hooked end of the stick. The ring is then bent open and put around the neck of the eldest living daughter of the deceased. Thus it is handed down from generation to generation.

Plate XXV.

Left: An old native hoe now used as a trowel. People say that it consists of iron smelted by the Kwenas themselves. Right: The primitive copper neck-ring.

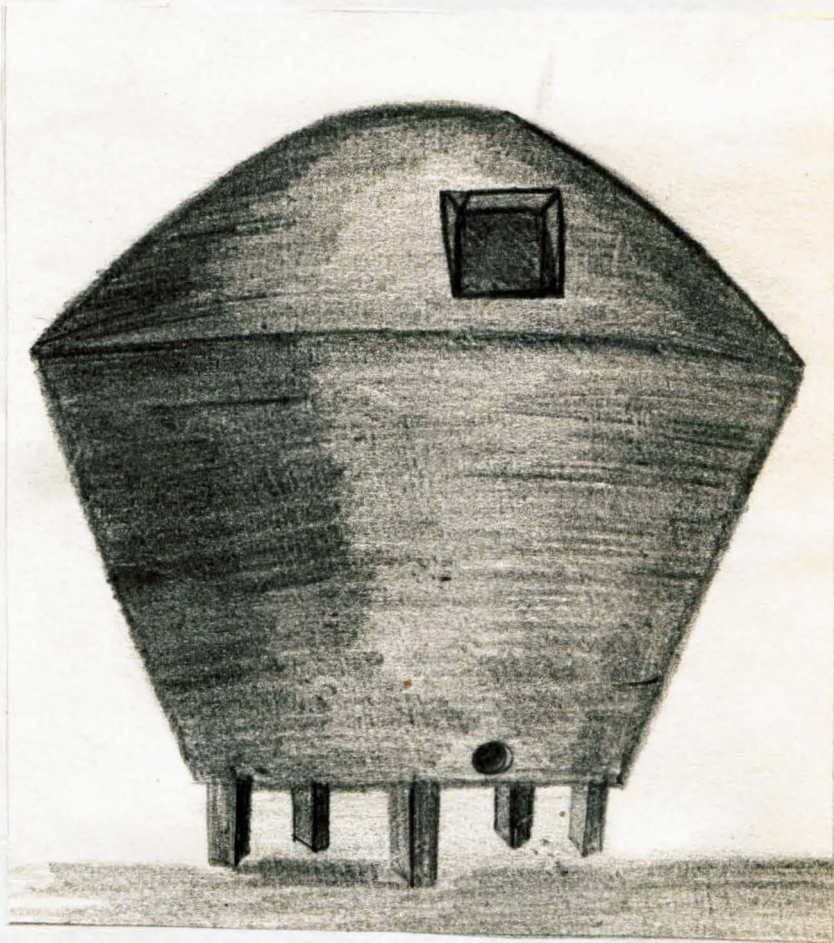


Chapter VII.Granaries.

As regards the granaries there is a vast difference between the Transvaal Kwena and those of the Protectorate.

The Kwena of Tamosstad in the Transvaal, with the exception of a few people who store their grain in bags, almost universally store their grain in conical-shaped mud granaries of various sizes, made by women. This type of granary is called sefalana, and it holds from two to thirty bags of grain, depending upon its size (Plates XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII - difalana of the Transvaal Kwena).

Plate XXVI.



Sefalana at Tamosstad - Transvaal.



Sefalana Tampossted - Transvaal. It is built outside and is fitted with a loose roof. When they want to take out some grain, the grass cap is first removed.

Plate XXVIII.

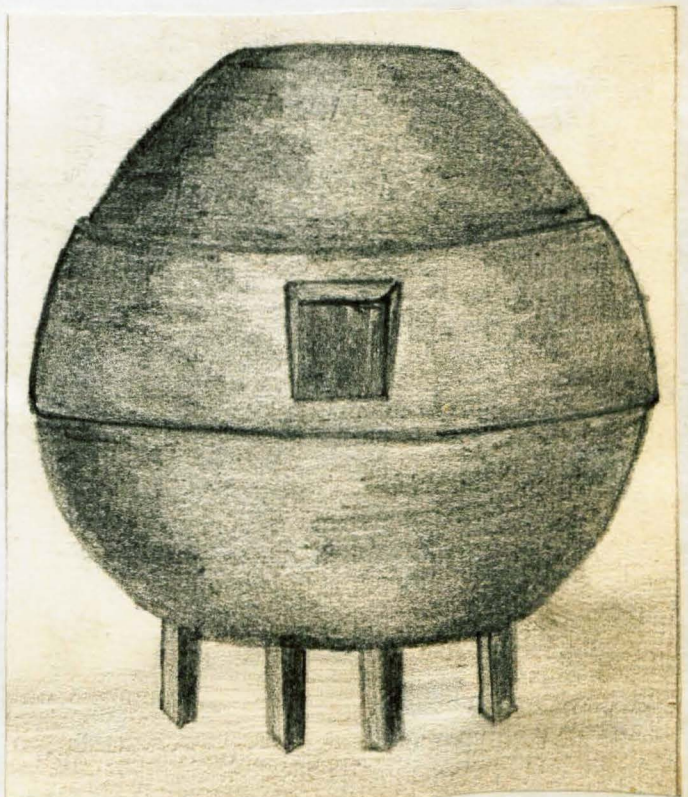
New Sefalana - Tampos-
stad Transvaal. It has
still to be plastered.
Note the cracks in the
outer surface.

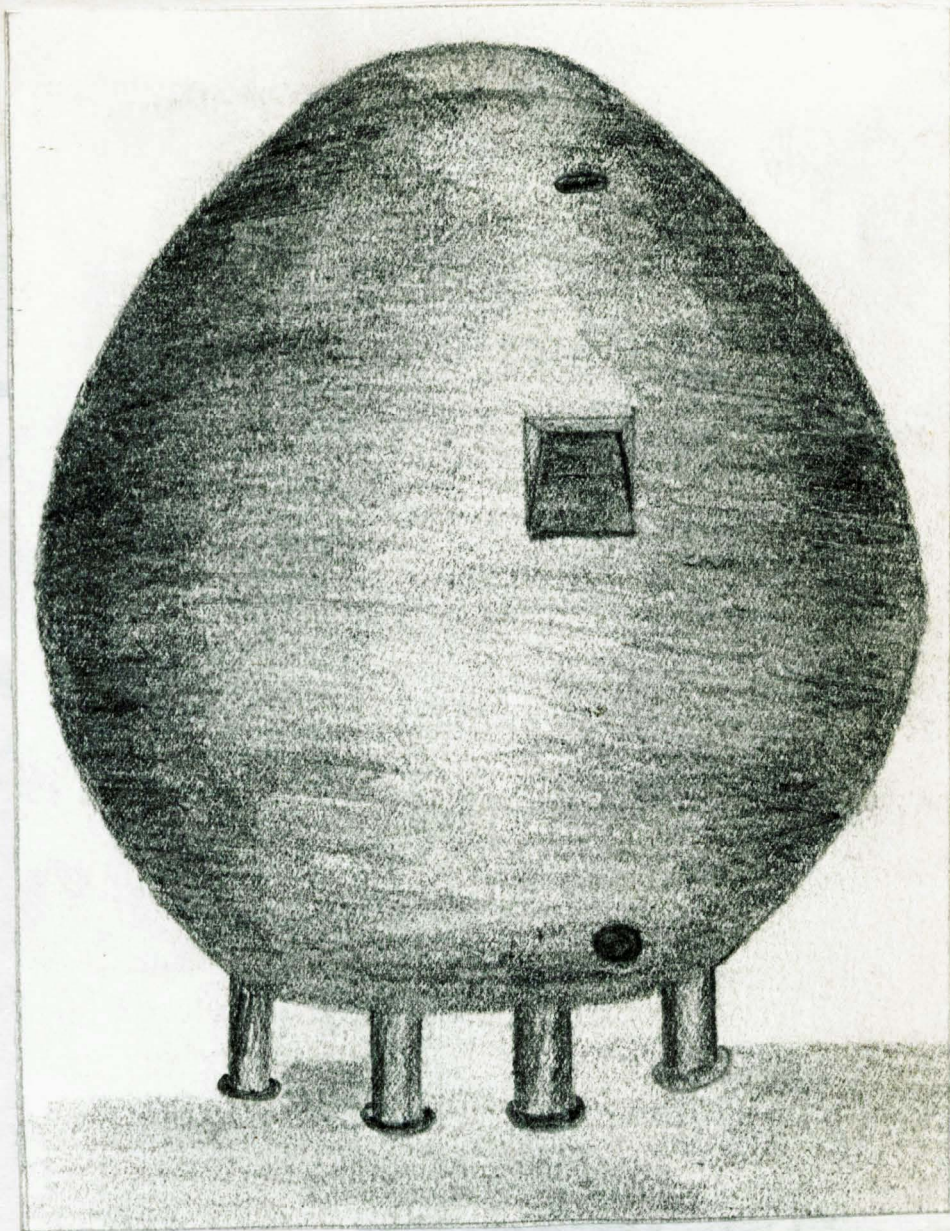




Sefalana - Tamosstad Transvaal.

Plate XXX.

Sefalana-Molepolole,
Bechuanaland.



Sefalana - Molepolole, Bechuanaland. Note the small hole at the top through which it is filled to its full capacity.
Plate XXXII.

Rammomo - Molepolole,
Bechuanaland.

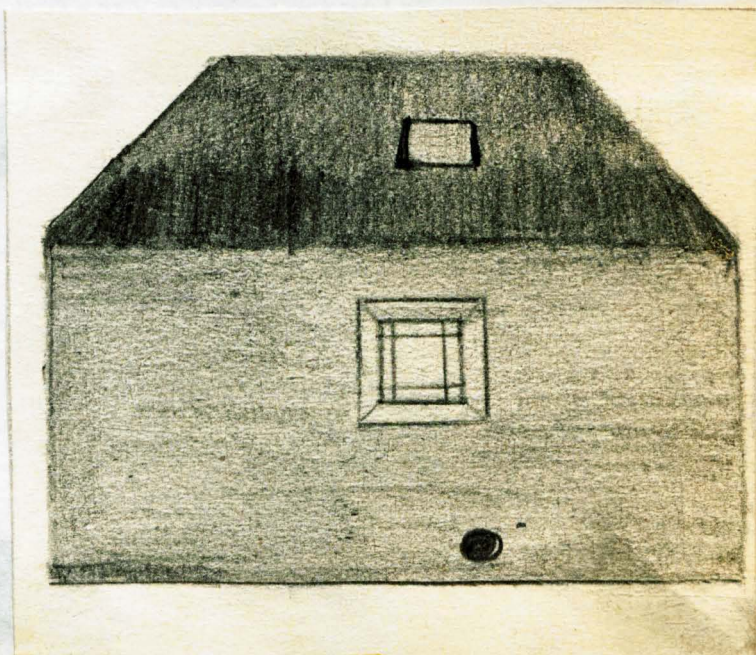


Plate XXXIII.

Sefalana - Molepolole,
 Bechuanaland. This sefa-
 lana was carried outside
 to ~~the~~ be photographed.
 It holds one bag of grain.



Plate XXXIV.



Seségo made by men - Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

Plate XXXV.



photographed
 Seségo, lying on its side to show its shape.

We will first describe the type of sefalana built by the Kwena of Tamosstad in the Transvaal. It is usually built in the storehut or letlole which is just behind the dwelling hut, but it may also simply be built under a thatched roof which rests on poles (Plate XXIX), or it may even be built entirely in the open with just a small thatched cap covering the upper part and protecting it against rain. The lower part of course, on account of its tapering nature, cannot easily be moistened by rain (Plate XXVII). This implies that owners are not afraid that other people will steal from these granaries, for they are not locked. Only the letlole in which the food and beer are kept, is locked.

In this village of Tamosstad all the granaries are of uniform type, design and workmanship, except that some rest on stone legs and some are without legs.

The method of building is as follows:-

First a big, flat stone which is used as the bottom of the sefalana, is put on stone legs about one foot high, the lower ends of which are fixed in the ground, or this flat stone may simply be laid on the ground. This is to keep termites out of the sefalana. They can easily be seen and checked when they are working up the stone legs. The building of the wall is started on this flat stone; it gradually becomes wider until about two-thirds of its height has been reached, when it gradually tapers towards the top. The wall is built with a mixture of mud and cowdung in the same way as that of the dwelling hut, but this wall is only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch thick before it is plastered. Only a few layers of mud are put on every day, and these are first allowed to dry before the next layers are put on the following day. Near the bottom, a small hole, just big enough for

a woman's hand, is left, through which corn is scooped out into a tlatlana. Approximately in the middle of the top part a square window can be seen. This is just big enough for a woman to get through, because the inner surface of the sefalana has also to be plastered and smoothed. It is smoothed with a small, flat stone in the same way as the floor of a hut is. When the plastering on both the inner and outer surfaces has been finished, the wall is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. Right on the crown of the sefalana a hole of about one foot diameter is left.

Now when the sefalana is to be filled, the bottom hole is first stopped with an old piece of sack after which the corn is poured in at the square window until it has reached the level of the window. Then a lid made from a plank, a piece of corrugated iron, or from a mixture of mud and cowdung, is put on and sealed with mud and cowdung. In making this lid in the traditional way, the mixture consists of about two-thirds cowdung and one third mud, the lid with its clay handle then being extraordinarily light. But the traditional method of construction of this lid has almost altogether disappeared, for there is only one such lid to be seen in the whole village of Tamosstad and most probably it is the only one in the Transvaal.

Next some more corn is poured in at the round hole on the crown, after which this is also covered with a round lid, usually some old potsherd, or anything suitable, and then sealed. Then the corn is safe against the ravages of mice, rats, termites and rain. Surely this is the most efficient and economical way of storing grain, and yet in most Kwenavillages in the Transvaal it has already been totally replaced by the European method of storing it in bags. In the

village of Herman Selon in the Rustenburg District, and in Mmamogale's location, the biggest Kwena-location in the Transvaal, there is not a single sefalana to be seen.

The type of granary which is almost universally used by the Bechuanaland-Kwena is the seségo, made by men (Plates XXXIV and XXXV). It is made from grass worked into concentric layers of about one inch thick, stitched together with Mogoana bark. On the top a round hole, just big enough for a man to get in, is left, and the bottom protrudes a little so that the whole thing has more or less the shape of a peach. The seségo appears to be spotted because of the dark-brown bark on the yellowish grass. There is no need for more openings, for through the hole at the top it is filled, and through this hole corn is taken out for consumption. As the level of the corn gradually becomes lower and lower, the emptied part of the seségo also gradually sags, until, when it is altogether empty, the whole thing lies flat on the ground.

When refilling it, a man simply gets into it by means of the hole, and with his arms and legs stretches it into shape again. The protruding bottom rests on a flat stone and the seségo is kept in position by means of a frame-work of supporting poles, the lower ends of which rest against the flat stone while the upper ends are fastened to cross poles all round the middle of the seségo. These granaries are all of about the same size, having a diameter of five feet both horizontally and vertically.

There are, however, a few rare cases in the village of Molepolole where the sefalana is used (Plates XXX, XXXI and XXXIII). It is interesting to note how, in shape and construction, they differ from the Transvaal type. The one shown in plate XXX is not in actual use, but is lying on its side in one of the deserted huts in the south-eastern part of Molepolole. These

difalana which are built inside the huts are of about the same size as the seségo.

Then there is another type of granary which differs altogether from those discussed thus far. It is a huge thing built in the Chief's storehut, and the only one of its kind in the whole village of Molepolole. It is called Rammomo and this is most obviously the traditional granary of the Chief, for ordinary people are unlikely to produce so much corn as even to half fill it (Plate XXXII). It is eleven feet square and the height of its walls is five feet. Its walls are also built by women, just like those of the huts, with a mixture of clay and cowdung, to a thickness of nine inches. Then the men put on the framework of the roof consisting of rafters alternated with layers of thin sticks stitched closely together with bark. On the inside a ceiling of reeds is put in. After this the whole of the outside of the roof is covered with a layer of mud, by women. The floor is put in by women in the same way as that of the hut. It has three openings which serve the same purpose as those of the Transvaal sefalana, namely the bottom one through which corn is taken for consumption, the middle one through which it is partly filled, and the top one through which it is filled to its full capacity. The people could not tell how many bags this Rammomo holds.

na National School, with its junior and senior divisions, each of which has an enrolment of over two-hundred children (see plates XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL). This undoubtedly is a very wise policy, for the children learn these arts from the best specialists obtainable in their village. What are also of great value to these young people, are the Shows which are held yearly in Bechuanaland. Here they see a collection of the best articles made by the most expert craftsmen.

Chapter VIII.

Industries.

The traditional industries of the Kwená have undoubtedly suffered great deterioration in recent years because household utensils of a poorer quality are at present so cheaply procured from the European stores. Where in former years clay pots were exclusively used in the carrying of water, it is now to a great extent being done with tins. Again, the native-made wooden bowl (mogope), wooden spoon and calabash, are now widely replaced by the European plate, knife and fork, cup and saucer, as eating- and drinking utensils, while the iron-pot has almost universally been introduced as a cooking utensil. This is the case with almost every subdivision of the material culture of the Kwená. To a certain extent, however, the Kwená themselves begin to realise that these traditional arts and crafts will be lost to future generations, and that articles of European manufacture cannot, in any way, surpass some of the native-made articles in quality and workmanship. European manufacturers can, for example, present nothing that will surpass the native-made clay pot, basket and kaross. For this reason, pottery, basketry and kaross-making are being taught at Molepolole by part-time teachers, to the children of the BaKwená National School, with its junior and senior divisions, each of which has an enrolment of over two-hundred children (see plates XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL). This undoubtedly is a very wise policy, for the children learn these arts from the best specialists obtainable in their village. What are also of great value to these young people, are the Shows which are held yearly in Bechuanaland. Here they see a collection of the best articles made by the most expert craftsmen.

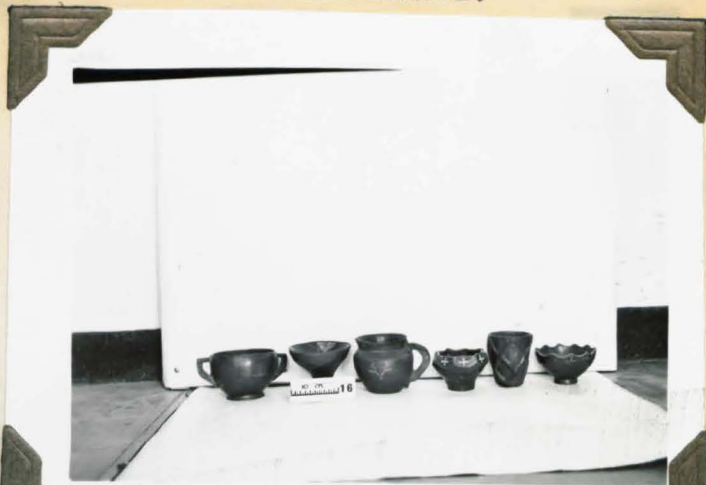
If we compare the arts and crafts of the Bechuanaland Kwena with those of the Transvaal-Kwena, we find that the articles made by the former are undoubtedly of superior workmanship, and show a much greater variety in design, shape and colour, than those made by the latter.

A certain degree of specialisation is found in regard to the making of these household utensils. In the first place there is a certain division of labour between the two sexes in the making of various articles as we shall see when the different articles are discussed, and in the second place only certain people of the same sex are able to make any particular utensil. Even among these people who do make certain articles, there are some who are more skilful and can produce articles of a superior quality. These specialists do not devote themselves exclusively to the production of these articles, but carry out their ordinary domestic work just like the rest of the tribe, and practice their special craft merely as a subsidiary source of income.

For this reason there naturally always exists a certain amount of trade within the tribe. There also exist certain stabilised relative values. Pots and baskets are usually exchanged for their content in grain, although sometimes, when the pot or basket is small, it may be expected to be filled twice or even four times. Fowls may also be given in exchange for these articles, but, of course, money is preferred, and the prices vary according to the nature and size of the particular article.

Pottery.

Plate XXXVI.



Pottery made by the children of the Bakwena National school
at Molepolole - Bechuanaland.

Plate XXXVII.



Pottery of the BaKwena National School - Molepolole.
Plate XXXVIII.



Girls of the BaKwena National School, making claypots.
From right to left: No.1:Mixing and kneading the clay.
No.3:Moulding the pot on a plate.No.4:Smoothing the pot
with a small pebble.No.2:Pricking the pot with a thorn
for decorative purposes.



Girls of the BaKwena National School - Bechuanaland, smoothing the pots with a small pebble. The shiny appearance of the pots can already be distinguished.

Plate XL.

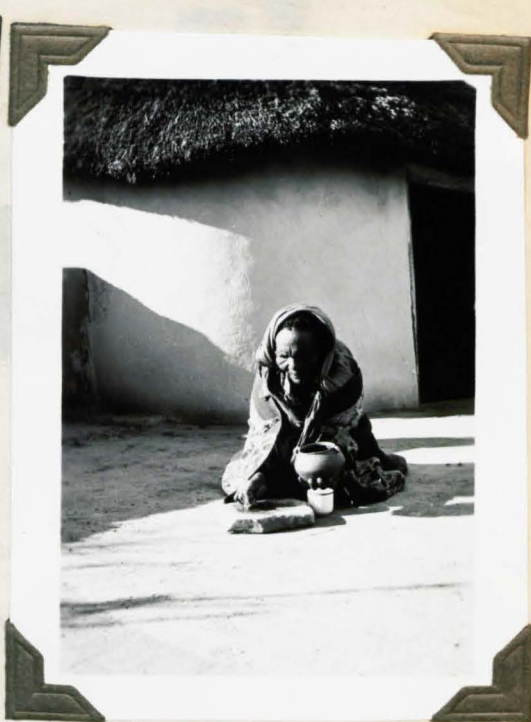


Girls of the BaKwena National School with their teacher (in the middle) busy firing a few pots.

Plate XLI.



Plate XLII.



Left: Matae Kgosiman - Tamosstad, Transvaal - busy smoothing a pot which she has moulded on an old potsherd.

Right: Matae Kgosiman, painting the pot.

Plate XLIII.



Pots made by Matae Kgosiman - Tamosstad, Transvaal.

Left: The little pot of plates XLI and XLII after it was finished and before it was fired.

Right: Another pot which had been fired previously.

Plate XLIV.



Two beautiful pots made at Molepolole - Bechuanaland.

Note the decorative designs just below the lips, painted with European paint.

The art of pottery is entirely in the hands of some of the women, although men may sometimes help with the firing. The pots most generally used are of the shape of those in plates XLIII and XLIV. They are modelled out of clay mixed with water and an equal amount of a certain kind of soft stone which is crushed. The mixture is well kneaded until it is of the required consistency. The potter then models her pot on an old potsherd, an old plate, a dish, a flat stone, or even on the bare ground. She presses the clay into position with her hands and the outer surface of the pot is smoothed with a piece of plank which is occasionally dipped in water. Every now and then it is taken by the handle of the potsherd and turned to the convenience of the potter. Thus she proceeds until the mouth is finished (Plates XXXVIII and XLI). Then the pot is put away in the hut to dry till the following day when it is taken off the potsherd, inverted, and the bottom part is completed in the same way as the top part. After this it is again put away till the next day when all the roughness on the inside is removed with the bowl of an old

spoon. Little hollows in the surface are carefully filled up with clay and the whole of the inner and outer surfaces of the pot are smoothed with a pebble, which is occasionally moistened with the tongue, while the work is proceeding. When finished, the pot has a nice, shiny appearance, and it is then put away in the hut for about a week to dry thoroughly before it is fired. Before firing, it is first painted with a red colouring prepared from a certain kind of soft stone which is pounded, mixed with water, and applied to the pot with a piece of cloth (Plate XLII). Before the firing, while the pot is still on the soft side, various indentations and pricks may be made with a thorn round the lip, to be painted after the pot has been fired. In Bechuanaland European paint is used in decorating the pots and much more trouble is taken in this respect by these people, than is taken by the Transvaal-Kwena (Plate XLIV).

In some sheltered place where the wind will not disturb the fire too much, a shallow pit is dug to a depth of about six inches, and wide enough to take about six or eight pots of average size. First a layer of dry cakes of cowdung is spread on the bottom of the pit. Then the pots are carefully arranged on the layer of cowdung with their mouths upwards, each pot resting on three pieces of brick, so that it will not smother the fire underneath it. Then all the pots are filled with dry cowdung cakes after which they are completely covered, with this same kind of fuel. The fire is then lit, usually in the evening, and the pots are left to harden overnight in that furnace.

The particular little pot shown in plate XLIII, and made by Matae Kgosiman, had been baked only for two hours in the corner of the lapa, sheltered in addition, by old plates and potsherds.

Within a very short time it was red hot, and after it had been removed from the fire, it took another hour and a half to cool down sufficiently to be touched with bare hands. The pots are sold for money; the little pot shown in plate XLIII was valued at sixpence.; or they may be exchanged, every pot for the amount of corn it contains.

Pots of all kinds of other shapes and designs are also made (Plates XXXVI and XXXVII) but this is more for decorative than for utilitarian purposes.

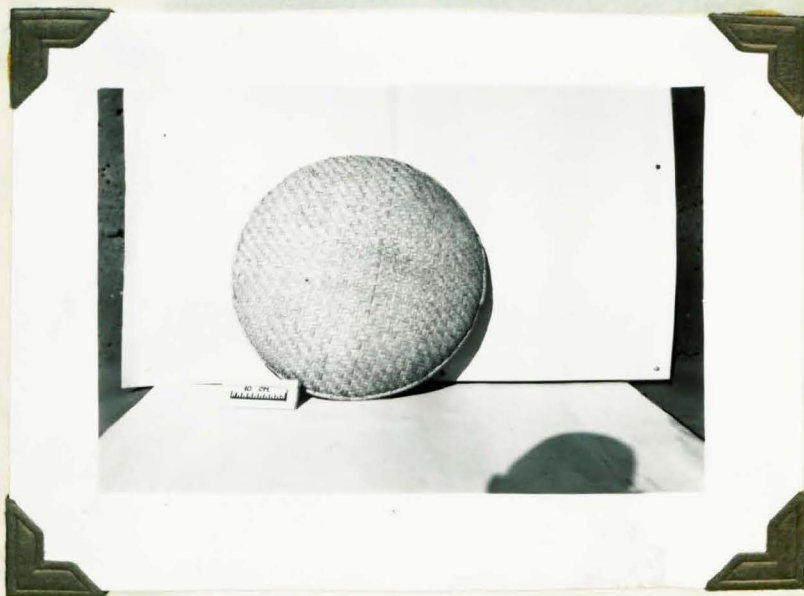
In Bechuanaland, curious to say, clay pots are also rapidly being replaced by tins, for nowadays one hardly ever sees a woman fetching water in a claypot. The clay pot, at present, seems to be exclusively a receptacle for beer. In olden times the mud from which clay pots were made was mixed with pounded asbestos, thus making the pot fire-proof, so that it could serve a double purpose - that of a cooking utensil and that of a water receptacle.

Basketry.

There are three distinct types of basket among the Kwenas.

I. The lesélo or winnowing basket, a flat, check-pattern basket with an average diameter of 20 inches (Plate XLV) is made by men.

Plate XLV.



Lesélo made by men - Tamosstad, Transvaal.

First moretloa branches of the required length are cut with an axe after which they are dressed with an adze to pieces of about an inch thick. Next, from these pieces, thin strips about half an inch wide are cut with a sharp knife, the edges being cut parallel. Then the work is started from one corner of the basket (Plate XLVI), the slivers being interwoven in a diagonal check pattern. Throughout the whole process the material is kept moist so that it can work easily. In Bechuanaland strips cut from the roots of the Mungana tree are also used in making this type of basket. When it has reached the required size the edge of the basket is trimmed and is neatly stitched to a hoop of Moshabele or Moretloa, by means of Mosetloane bark and an ordinary awl (Plate XLVII). These baskets are usually sold at 4/- or two fowls each.

Plate XLVI.



Jim Kosa starting to make a lesélo - Tamosstad, Transvaal.

Plate XLVII.



Stitching the edge of the basket to a hoop.

2.

Plate XLVIII.



Baskets made from Moretloa withies and reeds - Tamosstad.

Plate XLIX.

Baskets made from Moretloa withies and reeds - Tamosstad,
Transvaal.

The Moretloa basket is made in all sizes, ^{and} exclusively by men. This type of basket is made either from Moretloa withies supplemented by reeds, or from Moretloa withies ~~alone~~. The work commences at the base and the withies are coiled round and round until the required size has been reached. ~~Next~~ all along the edge of this base upright withies are fixed, the tops being tied together (Plate L). The basket-maker first works four or five baskets up to this stage, after which he commences with the sides which are gradually

widened towards the top. The sides are made with narrow strips of green reed neatly interlaced around the upright moretloa withies, ^{and this} results ~~in~~ into a strong, firm basket. Before the upper edge is trimmed, a few strips of reed are interlaced with those of the upper edge to form a nice handle, or ~~or~~ a single piece of Moshabele branch may be attached to it for a handle.

These baskets are usually valued at 1/6, one fowl or one bucket of corn each. Curious to say, this type of basket, is not to be found among the Bechuanaland-Kwena.

Plate L.



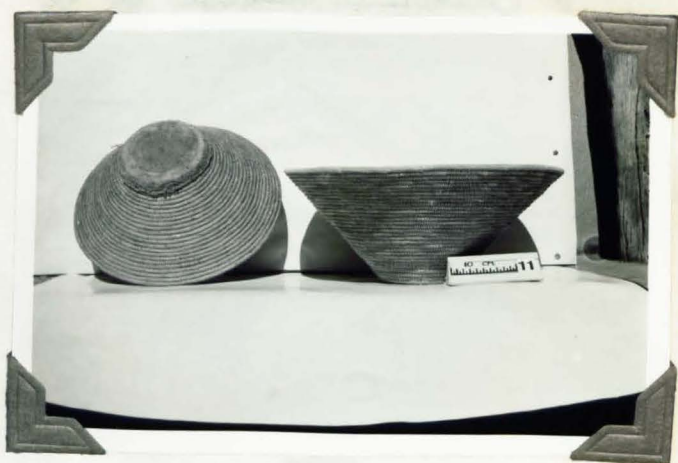
Making a Moretloa basket - Tampusstad, Transvaal.

3. The tlatlana or conical basket made by women and used exclusively by women for winnowing after the grain has been threshed (Plate XV) and also to carry grain in.

Plate LI.



Two tlatlana and one small basket - Molepolole, Bechuanaland. Note the two different kinds of stitch on the tlatlana.



Tlatlana - Tamosstad, Transvaal. This is the usual kind of stitch used in the Transvaal tlatlana.

The tlatlana is made from a certain kind of grass called Mopakane, which is obtained from swamps. The work also commences at the base just as in the case of the Moretloa-basket, only here grass coils are used and each coil is stitched to the other with an awl and a kind of thin rush found in rivers or in swamps (Plate LIII). The base of the tlatlana is concave to fit the shape of the head. The sides are worked in the same way as those of the Moretloa basket, becoming wider from the base to the mouth. Sometimes, in the Protectorate, the kind of stitch may be varied, so that the sides of some baskets differ in appearance from those of others (Plates LI and LII). Often a piece of goatskin is stitched over the base to give it additional strength (Plate LII).

The tlatlana of the ordinary size of about 15" diameter is valued at three shillings or two fowls ~~or~~, or it may be exchanged for corn equal to twice or four times its content.

Plate LIII.



Woman of Tamosstad, Transvaal, making a tlatlana.

In Bechuanaland, the use of the Mopakane grass is not confined to the making of the tlatlana alone, but any shape and design of grass-pot may be made (Plates LI and LIV), for where this type of basketry is taught in the schools at Molepolole, it would be rather monotonous to stick to one shape and design.

Plate LIV.



Grass-pot made at Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

The dark patterns seen in the surface of the grass-pot, are made from the same kind of rush ^{as is} used in the ordinary stitching, only this was left lying in the water for some time, thus becoming black.

The Transvaal-Kwena only make the most necessary article-- the tlatlana.

Plate LV.



A basket made by women with thread obtained from the European sack - Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

In Bechuanaland most articles of grass and wood are made at the cattle-posts or at the lands.

The beerstrainer (Plate XVIII) is also woven from a kind of thin rush. Every rush is split in two, one end being pierced with a safety-pin which is then pulled towards the other end, thus splitting the rush. Next these split rushes are ~~xx~~ twined with the hand into thin strings on the woman's thigh, after which the strings are woven into a long, narrow tube of about eighteen inches long and six inches in diameter, which gradually tapers down to a closed end (Plate XVIII). During the whole process the material is kept moist, so that it will easily yield to the desired twists and turns. When the beer is being strained, this strainer is filled, held over another pot, and with the left hand firmly holding the lower end, the upper end is vigorously twisted and squeezed with the right hand as far as it will go, until only the coarse, solid matter is left in the strainer. Then the strainer is emptied into a dish or a tlatlana, refilled from the first pot, and the process is repeated. The beerstrainer, however, is not of such a fine texture as

to remove all solid matter; a certain amount is always squeezed through it together with the fluid. This is why beer, besides its stimulating effect, is also an important food and is very often a substitute for many a native meal.

Mats.

A certain type of mat made from bulrushes (Plate LVI) is made by women of the Transvaal Kwena, ^{who} use ~~a~~ a sail-needle and string procured from a European store, to stitch the bulrushes closely together.

Plate LVI.



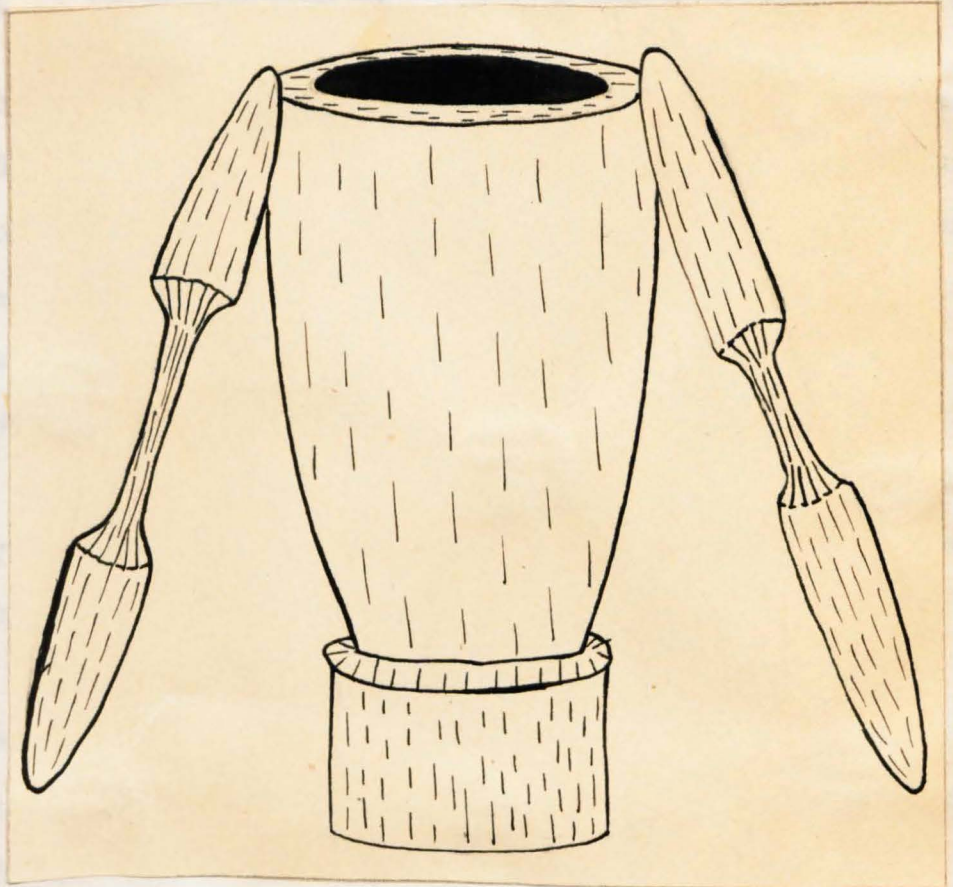
Mat made from bulrushes by women of Tamosstad, Transvaal. To the right the bundle of bulrushes can be seen. In former days this type of mat was used by women to sit on. It was especially of importance when receiving women visitors who were always given some of these mats to sit on, by the hostess. Nowadays it is used to sleep on by children and by adults who do not possess bedsteads. During the day it is rolled up and put away. This type of mat is lacking altogether among the Bechuanaland Kwena, perhaps because in those

parts bulrushes are not easily obtainable. A substitute, however, is the great variety of skin mats used by these people.

Woodcarving.

The stamping-block (Plates LVII and LVIII) in which women or girls stamp the grain, is made by men from a solid block of wood of the Monato, Mosetlha or Moshabele tree.

Plate LVII.



Transvaal stamping-block.

Left: Transvaal pestle. Right: Bechuanaland pestle.

Plate LVIII.

Bechuanaland stamping-block and pestle.

Note the girl wearing the traditional makgabe.



Among the Transvaal-Kwena the block is about 27 inches high with a diameter of 14 inches at its thickest part. Both the surface of the base and that of the top is made level and a hole about ten inches deep and eight inches in diameter, tapering towards the bottom, is hollowed out in the middle of the top with a chisel and a hammer. About nine inches from the bottom a slit, two inches deep, is sawn all round the block and from this slit upwards, the block is dressed with an adze so as ultimately to have the shape of that in plate LVII.

The Bechuanaland stamping-block which is made in the same way and has the same shape as that of the Transvaal, is usually about 16 inches high, which is only about ^{half} the height of the Transvaal stamping-block. Notwithstanding this, the stamping is also done in a standing position (Plate LVIII).

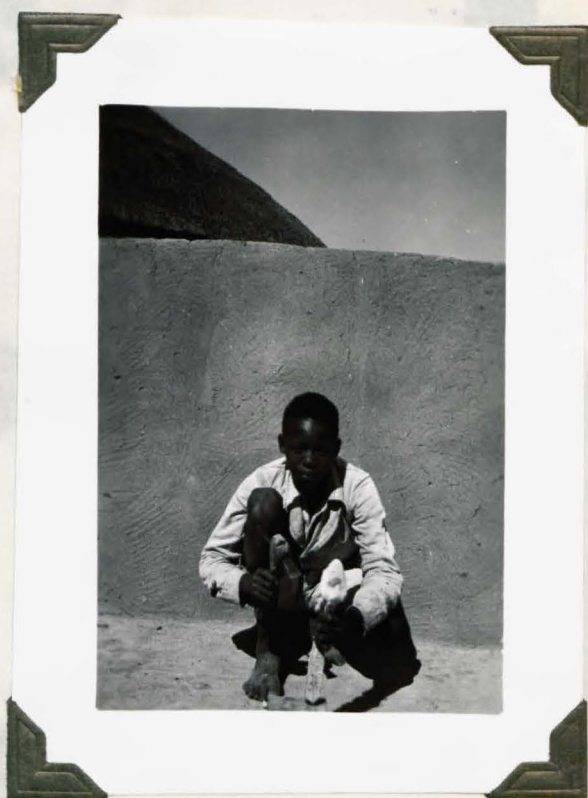
The heavy wooden pestle which is about three feet long with a club on each end, is made from some specially hard wood, usually the Moga in the Transvaal, and Moduba or Mogotlho in Bechuanaland. There is also a difference between the wooden pestle of the Protectorate-Kwena and that of the Transvaal-Kwena (Plate LVII). In the Transvaal pestle each club is about one third of the whole length of the pestle, while the thin piece in the middle is approximately one third of the whole length. In the Bechuanaland pestle the clubs are much longer and the thin piece in the middle is just long enough to be comfortably held in both hands, one above the other, when stamping. The Bechuanaland pestle has never the less about the same total length as that of the Transvaal.

Spoons.

Spoons are made by men or boys. They are of various sizes, with all kinds of game-animals and snakes carved out on their handles, and with a variety of designs branded with a piece of wire on their handles and on the under surfaces of their bowls.

In the Transvaal, wood of the Mokgalo, Morula and Monato trees are used; in Bechuanaland Motlope and Milo are used in addition to those kinds of wood mentioned for the Transvaal. A piece of wood of the required length and thickness is cut with an axe and dressed with a small, sharp adze to the required shape (Plate LIX) after which it is smoothed with a sharp knife, the images are carved out and it is decorated with a piece of wire heated in the fire.

Plate LIX.



Making spoons - Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

The boy is dressing the piece of wood with an adze.

The smallest size of wooden spoon (Plates LX and LXI) is used for eating, the middle size for stirring and dishing up food, and the biggest size is used for stirring the contents of the big clay-pots when brewing beer (this last size of spoon is not reproduced in the above plates). The smallest size of spoon, no matter how long it took to do all the carving and decorating, is usually valued at sixpence

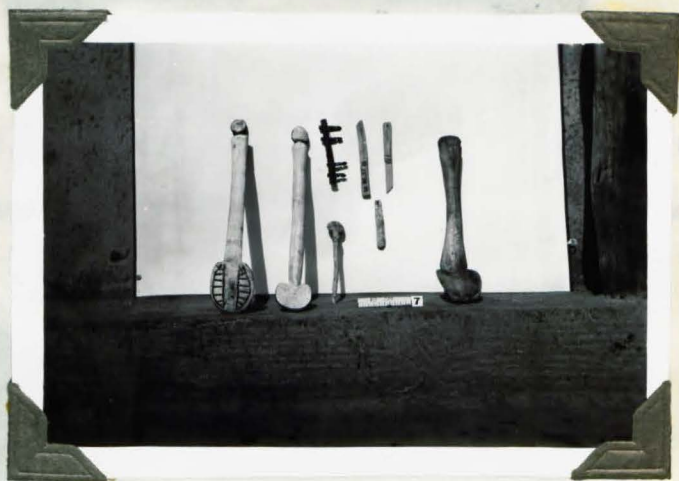
the middle size at one shilling or one and sixpence, and the biggest at two shillings or two and sixpence.

Plate LX.



Wooden spoons made by men - Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

Plate LXI.



Wooden spoons, wooden knives, and a miniature wooden yoke made by men of Tamosstad, Transvaal.

In the Transvaal the wooden spoon is now usually replaced by the metal spoon of European manufacture, and this is true for Bechuanaland also, to a much less extent. Moreover, the decoration of the spoons in the Transvaal is very poor in comparison with that on the spoons of the Protectorate. The wooden bucket (kgamelo) which is about 15 inches high, and the wooden bowl (mogope), often made with ears (Plates LXII and LXIII), are each made from a single block of Morula

or Mosetlha wood, An axe is used to cut down the wood, an adze to dress it, and a hammer and a chisel to hollow it out. But Morula, being a soft wood, the receptacle is often damaged by insects, if not in daily use. Both are decorated by burning various designs around the top edges.

Plate LXII.



Two wooden buckets, a wooden cup and saucer and a wooden drinking-vessel, made by men at Molepolole, Bechuanaland.

Plate LXIII.



Wooden bowls made by men at Molepolole - Bechuanaland.

The wooden bucket is no longer made in the Transvaal, where tins and buckets of European manufacture are used exclusively in milking. In the Protectorate it is only used

at the cattle-posts.

The mogope is still in use in the Transvaal, although it has been to a great extent replaced by the European plate and dish. The Transvaal-Kwena nowadays consider the decorating of the mogope to be unnecessary.

The porridge stick is made from a stick about 18 inches long. At one end of the stick, two holes are bored about two inches apart, at right angles to each other, and wooden pins about four inches long are inserted through them. Often an ordinary branched stick is used, of which four or five shoots on one end are cut about three inches from the main stick. The porridge-stick is used for stirring the meal into the water. It is twirled between the palms of the hands. Although it is still used, especially by men and boys at the cattle-posts, it has for the most part been superseded by the wooden, and the metal spoon.

Wooden pipes:-

Among the Transvaal-Kwena the native-made wooden pipe has been altogether replaced by the European article which can be obtained from the local stores at a small price. Even in the Protectorate the European article has been almost universally introduced. There are, however, a few men who still use the wooden pipe, but the workmanship is very poor, giving one the idea that the pipe must have been made in great haste, and that it just serves the purpose for the time being, till a better pipe can be afforded. It is made from a solid piece of hard wood, the bowl hollowed out with a knife and the stem pierced lengthwise with a piece of red hot wire.

Often boys who begin smoking secretly, without their parents' knowledge, make their own pipes from pieces of reed. First a

rather thick reed is sought, and it is cut just below one of the nodes and again an inch and a half above the node to form a suitable bowl. Next near the bottom of the bowl a hole is pierced with a knife, just big enough for a five-inch piece of thin reed to be inserted into it as the pipe's stem. Then the pipe is finished and the boy fills it with tobacco and starts smoking.

In Bechuanaland tobacco-pouches are often made from the softened skin of the pole-cat or from that of some other wild cat. In the Transvaal, if not carried loose in the pocket, it is kept in the pouch in which it was bought.

Wooden models:-

The manufacturing of these models of both human beings and of all kinds of animals, has, with the exception of periodical but poor efforts by boys, been almost altogether abandoned by the Transvaal-Kwena, and has suffered great deterioration among the Protectorate Kwena of recent years. Considerable skill is shown in the carving of these models, which are often a fairly accurate reproduction of its live forms.

Plate LXIV.



Models made at Molepolole - Bechuanaland.

From left to right:- A giraffe; a man armed with an assegai, hunting an ostrich; a snake coiled round a tree-trunk and a lizard climbing up the tree.



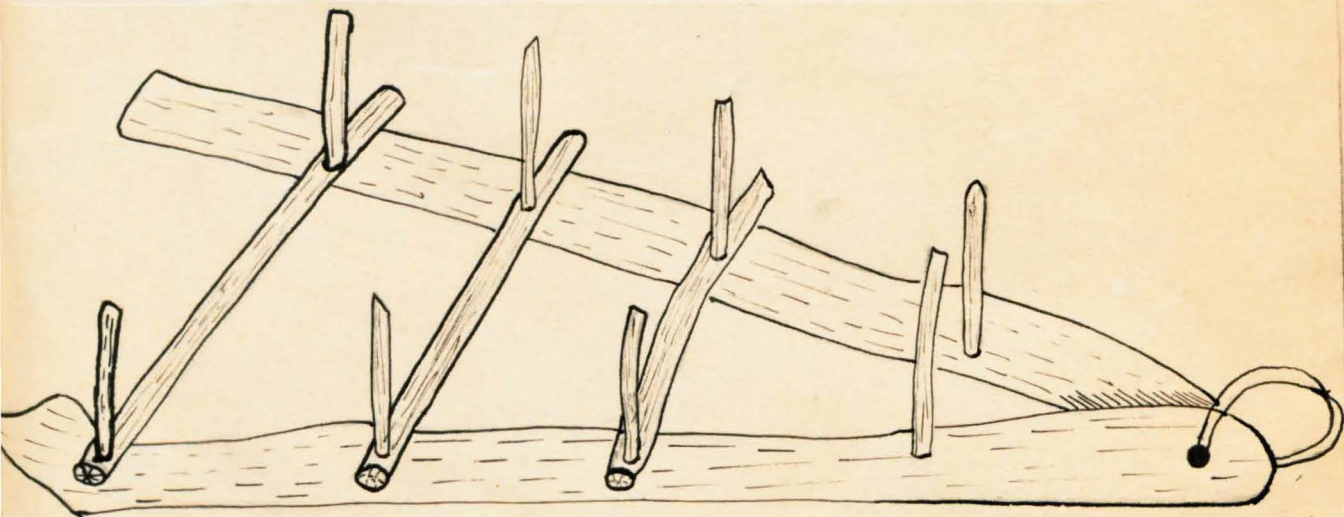
Models made at Molepolole - Bechuanaland.

A number of porcupines and a wooden snuff-box.

The decorations are done with a piece of redhot wire.

The sledge, the most primitive means of conveyance, must perhaps also be mentioned under this heading of woodwork.

Plate LXVI.



Sledge made at Tamposstad - Transvaal.

The sledge is made from a forked stump on which about a foot or 18 inches apart, cross sticks have been fixed by means of pegs hammered into holes bored through these sticks into the forks of the stump.

By means of the sledge, bags of grain may be conveyed home

from the lands, or water may be fetched in tins fastened on to the sledge.

Usually six or eight oxen are enough to pull a sledge with an average load. The under surface, of course, gradually wears away because of the constant friction with the ground, but notwithstanding this, the sledge, if used for the ordinary work, may last a few years. In Bechuanaland the sledge is prohibited by the Chief within the boundaries of the village, on account of its destructive effect on the roads, the penalty for the transgression of this regulation being one head of cattle. Some people insist that this regulation originated from the fact of the Chief and other privileged men possessing wagons and being anxious to hire out their wagons to other people for payment in corn.

Calabashes.

Calabashes of various shapes are cultivated and prepared by women, every particular shape of calabash having some special use (Plate LXVII).

Plate LXVII.



Calabashes made by women of Tamosstad - Transvaal.

From left to right:-The first two are used for ladling beer out of the big pots. The third one is used for drinking water, The last two are exclusively used as beer drinking-vessels.

The calabashes are prepared as follows:- Every calabash is cut into two lengthwise with a sharp knife. Then it is cooked in a pot with water for an hour or so, after which the seeds and soft pith are removed and both the inside and the outside scraped clean with an old spoon. Then, after the ^{halves} have dried a little, they are put into beer for a day, or they are cooked in beerchaff to remove the bad taste, and to ensure a nice smell and a yellow colour. After being taken out of the beer they are put somewhere in the hut to dry, with cross sticks of plank or mealie-stalk fitted tightly into them to prevent them from shrinking out of shape while drying.

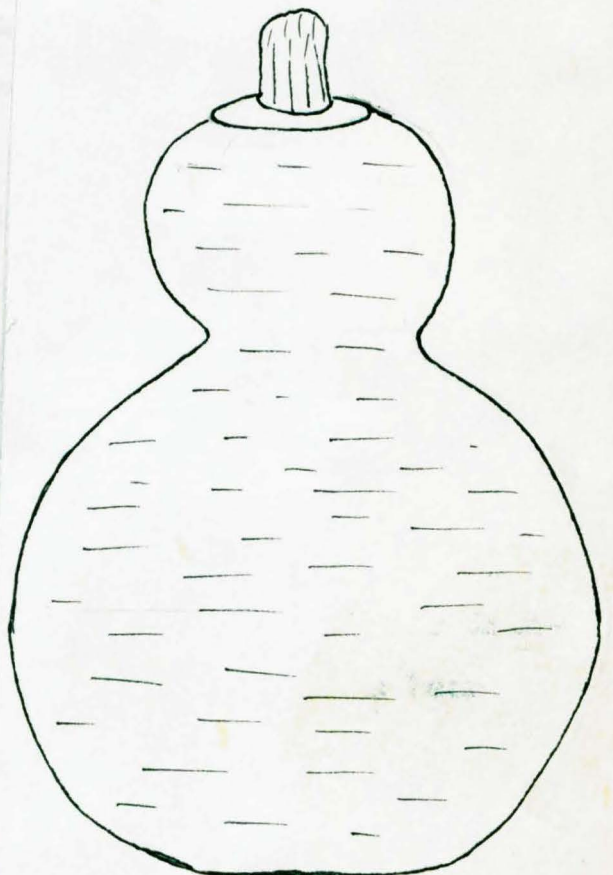
If it happens that a calabash gets cracked, the cracked part is simply stitched together with an awl and a piece of sail-thread. In plate LXVII the calabash on the right end has been repaired in this way.

Plate LXVIII.

A calabash snuff-box

Tamosstad - Transvaal.

This is the only one of its kind to be seen in the whole village of Tamosstad, little flat tins being universally used, ^{nowadays} as snuff receptacles by both men and women, men carrying them in their pockets and some of the older women folding ^{them} into the cloths they wear round their heads.



Bonework.

Among the Transvaal-Kwena this art has disappeared altogether and except for the dice of the diviner, there is not a single survival of its kind to be found. This may also be said of the Protectorate-Kwena, except that this art is still alive in the manufacturing of snuff boxes from the horns of all kinds of game, but mostly from the horn of the gnu (Plate LXIX).

Plate LXIX.



Five snuff boxes made by men at Molepolole - Bechuanaland. Above the snuff boxes are hanging, to the left, the primitive necklace which used to be worn by both men and women, and to the lower end of which is attached the primitive nose-cleaner made from bone. To the right is a necklace usually worn by men. To the lower end are attached the bone nose-cleaner and the kaross pouch made from hide. The inside of the horn is scraped clean and the outer surface is smoothed. The big lower opening at the thick end of the horn is stopped with a wooden stopper which fits tightly and which is then stained to have the same black colour as the horn. The thin side of the horn is worked into a small protuberant neck and a hole is burned through

it with a piece of hot iron into the lower cavity.

The outer surfaces of these snuff boxes are often decorated by means of pieces of inlaid comb of all colours. For the most part we see the initials of the owner put into the surface of the snuff-box in this way, and often, too, the letters B.P. (Bechuanaland Protectorate) are to be seen below the initials of the owner. Ofcourse the letters are first carved out with a knife after which the pieces of comb are cut to the required sizes and shapes to fit tightly into these slits ^{and are} supported by thin nails of which the heads have been nipped off and which are then hammered in, so that only small metal dots are to be seen on the surface of the comb.

The horn snuffbox is still universally used by the Kwenamen of the Protectorate, a little flat tin now often being substituted by women, perhaps because it is more convenient to carry.

The snuffbox is filled through the small hole and snuff is also ejected through this hole into the palm of the hand. A small stopper is made from a piece of hide, a little hole being pierced through the top part, through which a thin leather thong is inserted and the ends tied together so that it forms a small loop by means of which the stopper is pulled out whenever the owner wants some snuff.

The snuff is either inhaled up the nose, or it is put between the lower lip and the front teeth.

Tobacco is now usually procured from European stores. It is ground on the flat stone used for grinding corn, the pieces of midrib of the leaves being carefully removed and the fine tobacco mixed with the ashes of Mokana or Mokgwêrekgwêre wood.

The only other bones used by the Kwenā are the dice of the diviner which consist of the astragali of various animals such as the goat, the steenbuck, the baboon, and the antbear, besides two pieces of cattle hoof and two flat pieces of cattle bone on which various rings and dots have been burnt. They are usually two of the same kind, the husband and the wife, and every one has a positive and a negative side.

Plate LXX.



Andries Molefe of the Transvaal. His dice consist of two pieces of cattle hoof, two astragali of the baboon, two of antbear, two of pig, two of duiker, two of goat, two of sheep, and two pieces of white, flat stone, representing the husband and the wife, the woman having a slit on one end. The dice of one of the diviners at Molepolole - Bechuana-land - consisted of four astragali of the baboon (two men and two women), two steenbuck, two antbear, two pieces of cattle hoof and two pieces of white bone. He carried his dice in a bag made from the softened skin of the polecat, and to open this bag the diviner has to be paid an initial fee of one shilling.

Andries Molefe carried his dice in a bag made from the skin of a wild cat (Tshipa). It is curious to note that every piece of bone has its mate

of the opposite sex, it being in accordance of Bantu conception that life is incomplete without a sexual mate.

It is interesting to note the variety of animals selected, animals walking about during the day, the alert duiker and steenbuck, the baboon haunting the krantzes, and even the antbear burrowing the earth. This seems to impart to the dice the ability of seeing everywhere at all times. Only the animals of the sky - birds - are not represented, perhaps because all evils such as theft, disease and sorcery that may befall people, are believed to be caused by some malignant person living on the earth.

To impart divining abilities to the new dice, they are first medicated by being cooked in a mixture of certain ground medical roots and cattle fat. When taken out of this pot, they are put into another pot with medicine, the ingredients of which are kept a strict secret from any outsider.

Then the diviner drinks some of this same mixture which the dice have drunk from, and thereafter he regularly washes himself with, and takes some of the mixture at monthly intervals, in order to ensure a constant connection and mutual understanding between himself and the bones. The method of divination is outside the scope of this little work and is therefore omitted.

Ironwork.

Iron smelting among the Kwenas is now extinct and all iron implements used by these people are at present obtained from European stores. Even their smith's work is ^{usually} being done by European smiths.

Weapons:- Except that some people own fire-arms, a fact which has already been referred to, the club is most generally used, especially by boys at the cattle-posts, although it is more an implement for protection than it is a weapon of offence. It is a knobbed stick of about 18 inches

long made ~~by~~ from any hard, strong wood, just heavy enough to be easily handled. Sometimes the herd-boys kill hares and birds by throwing it at them, or a big animal caught in a trap may be clubbed to death by means of this weapon.

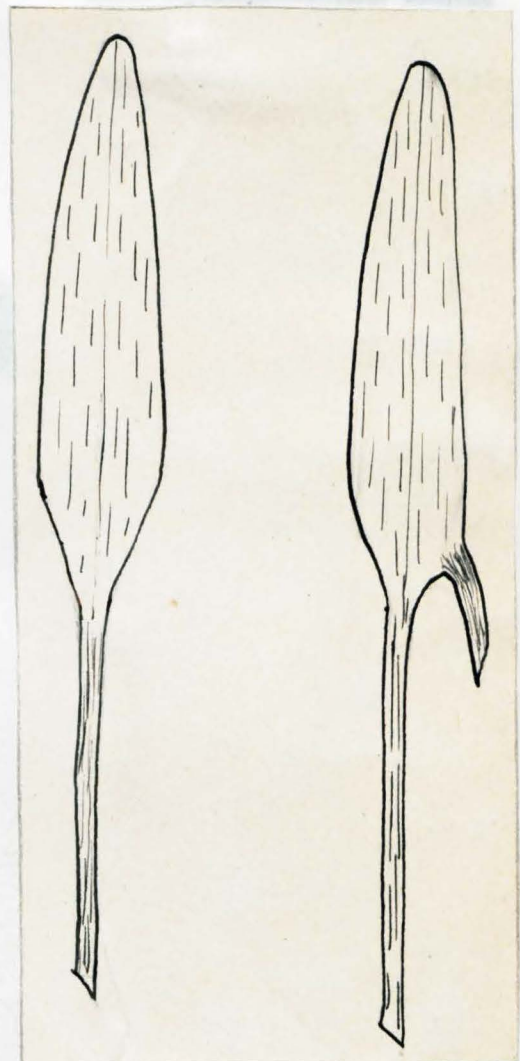
There are also still a few survivals of the spear (Plate LXXI) which was of such vital importance in olden times. The blade is about six inches long, having a slight rib running down the middle of the blade. The blade has a haft of about 12 to 18 inches long, which is tightly fixed in a wooden handle about five feet in length. It is bound firmly with a leather thong or a piece of iron or wire, wound tightly around the handle.

But the work of the spear has been completed because it has been superseded by other more efficient and more fatal weapons, so that it is only preserved today as a valuable antiquity.

Plate LXXI.

Spears - Molepolole -
Bechuanaland.

The spear to the right has a hooked base, the significance of which is quite apparent.



Musical Instruments.

The Kwena-villages are almost devoid of any music.

In plates LXXII and LXXIII we see a stringed instrument made by a Mokwena at Molepolole, using a 5 foot bowstave fitted with a string of twisted animal-sinew and near the lower end of which a calabash resonator is attached. The calabash is insulated from the bowstave by means of a pad of old sack. ^{musician} The ~~he~~ plays the instrument by striking the string with a thin stick (Plate LXXII), thus producing very monotonous music.

Plate LXXII.

Mokwena at Molepolole
playing the instrument
of plate LXXIII.

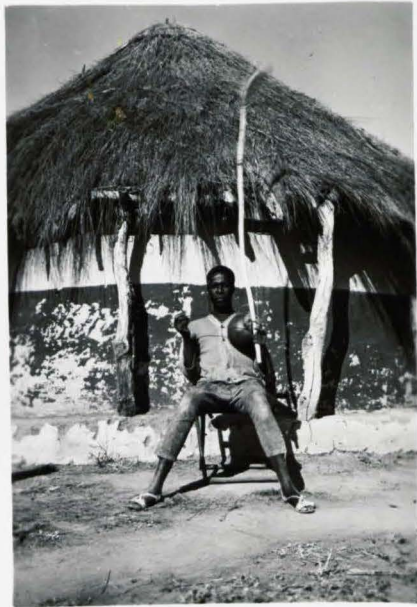


Plate LXXIII.

Musical instrument
Molepolole - Bechu-
analand.



A native violin is sometimes played by boys of both the Protectorate and the Transvaal. The manufacturing of this instrument is simple. Any suitable piece of wood, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter and 3 feet long is taken; the upper surface, about six inches from one side is flattened and hollowed out towards the opposite end, which is sharpened and to which one end of the string-wire is attached. Through the thick end a hole is bored with a piece of hot iron, at right angles to the flat side, and a peg, tapering slightly upwards, is inserted through this hole. Next the other end of the wire-string is fastened to the top of the peg which protrudes about two inches above the thick stick. To tighten the string, the part of the peg protruding below the stick is firmly taken in the right hand and twisted to the right until the required pitch has been reached, after which it is firmly pressed upwards, when, because of its tapering shape, it will remain in that position.

If it is procurable, a piece of bamboo is preferred to any piece of wood.

The sharp end of the instrument is inserted into a one-gallon paraffin tin which acts as a resonator. It is held on the left shoulder, and played with a small bow about six inches in length, to which a number of tail-hairs of cattle are fixed, and which is occasionally rubbed in the gum of a certain tree. The little bow is pulled to and fro across the string, and with the aid of the fingers of the left hand by means of which the string is occasionally pressed, any tune heard from a gramophone may be reproduced fairly accurately and skilfully. It is admirable to hear what different tones can be reproduced on this one-stringed instrument by the skilful player.

But European musical instruments have, of recent years, exercised such a charm over these people that they have almost

altogether discarded their traditional instruments in favour of the European gramophone, mouth-organ, concertina and even piano.

Notwithstanding, so little instrumental music is heard by the visitor to the various Kwena-villages, that these people may legitimately be called, "a people without music."

Skinwork.

The industries that arise in any locality are to a great extent determined by the raw-materials obtainable in that particular locality. This is undoubtedly the case in Bechuanaland where skinwork constitutes the most flourishing industry of the whole Protectorate. The Kalahari is a country teeming with wild animals of all kinds, including the lion, the leopard, and almost all the other members of the dog and the cat family. A herd of gnu comprising about a thousand head, staring with raised heads at a lorry within a hundred yards from them, is not an uncommon sight in the Kalahari. If one shoots at them and perhaps wounds a few, the most awe-inspiring bellowing will be heard from the wounded beasts, in which their terror-stricken comrades join as they smell the blood, bewail them, and after a short while, disappear with a thundering caused by thousands of hoofs, among the dust-enveloped bushes.

As has already been said, most of the smaller members of the cat and the dog tribe are caught in traps of European manufacture obtained at the local stores. Many are, of course, hunted with dogs, and when the fugitives jump up a tree, or flee into a hole, they are easily killed with clubs. Most of the skins are procured from the people at the lands, the herdboys at the cattle-posts, and the Bakgalagadi (people of the Kalahari). These people who have absorbed a fair

amount of Bushman-blood, are considered an inferior type and are subject to the Kwena of the Protectorate. It is curious to note that although they have been in constant contact with the Kwena for years, they still most stubbornly adhere to their traditional type of clothing. The skin apron, covering the pudenda, and the skin covering the buttocks of the woman, are the only essential garments for a woman, while the tséga, that is the skin covering the genitals, is the only essential garment for a man.

The store-keepers of the different stores buy these skins from their various clients and distribute them amongst the various skin-specialists who prepare them and transform them into mats and karosses of every shape, size and design. The best-made of these karosses are obtainable at the stores of Molepolole at about one pound each. It would be rather interesting to compare this price with that of the same thing sold in Johannesburg.

Mats are usually made from the skins of the goat, duiker, steenbuck, and klipspringer, with a border fringe of goathair. Usually the skin of the Motlosi (a rather small jackal with a very soft fur) which is only found in the Kalahari, is put in the centre of the kaross, and various other kinds of different colours are arranged all round it, according to the skins available and according to the artistic sense of the kaross-maker. The skins are neatly sewn together with thread prepared from animal sinew which is very strong and efficient. A needle made from an old bicycle-spoke or from an umbrella is used, and is carried together with the neatly-wound-up lengths of sinew in a tubular grass-

pouch(Plate LXXVI). Sometimes the needle is also carried in a hide-pouch inserted in the necklace(Plate LXIX).

As regards the preparation of the skin, the dry, hard skin is first thoroughly moistened on the inside, after which it is rolled up with the hair on the outside and left for an hour or two to soak through. Then it is unfolded and the inside is thoroughly cleaned by being rubbed with a piece of rough stone or brick(Plate LXXIV). When clean, a mixture of water and the brains of cattle, preserved in a horn, is applied to the inside of the skin to soften it. If the skin does not contain fat enough in itself, it is also rubbed with a little fat before it is softened. Then the skin is worked between the hands for several hours on each of two days, after which it is soft and pliable.

The inside of the kaross is generally tanned with the pounded root of the Mositsane tree, mixed with water and rubbed on to the skin. The steenbuck-skin from which the riding-breeches are made, is also tanned in this way.

If the hair on the outside of the skin must be removed, the skin is buried in wet cowdung for a night or so, after which the hair is simply plucked out by hand, or it is scraped off with any suitable iron implement. For the hides of big-game animals, a spade is often used for this purpose.

Plate LXXIV.



Boys cleaning skins - Molepolole, Bechnuanaland.



Part-time teacher, instructing his pupils in the art of kaross-making - Bakwena National School - Molepolole.
Plate LXXVI.



Leather handbags in imitation of the European pattern, made by children of the Bakwena National School - Molepolole. Among the Transvaal-Kwena the art of skin-dressing has died out altogether and people use European clothing and bedding only. The single kaross which is sometimes seen among the Natives of the Transvaal, is almost always imported from the Protectorate.

The Kwena of both the Transvaal and of the Protectorate usually make from ox-hide their own reims for inspanning oxen, milking cows, etc. The inside of the fresh hide of the slaughtered animal is strewn with a good layer of salt after which it is folded into a heap with the hair to the outside, and left in this position for a night, to

allow the salt to soak into the skin. Then the skin is unfolded and pegged down on the ground, with the flesh side upwards and left in this position until dry, when it is put away in a store-room for some time. Then, when it is convenient, this dry, hard hide is first put in water for a few hours to soften it, after which it is buried in wet cowdung for four or five days to loosen the hair, which is then scraped off by means of a spade. The hide is then cut into long, narrow strips of about two inches in width, one end of the bundle of strips being fastened to a strong branch of a big tree and the other end fastened to a bow-shaped piece of wood which is weighted by means of a heavy stone. Then a rather long stick is inserted between the stone and the bow, and the worker, holding the thick end of the stick with both hands in front of him, walks in a wide circle, winding the bundle of reims up as far as it will go, when he pulls out the stick and the bundle starts unwinding itself with increasing force, because of the weight of the stone, and shaking the tree to its very roots. After being altogether unwound, the bundle winds itself up again in the opposite direction, because of the force and speed of the unwinding process.

Plate LXXVII.



Mokwena preparing reims at Tamosstad - Transvaal.

The operator then again inserts his stick and the process is repeated, but this time in the opposite direction. He continues to wind up the reims the whole day, occasionally perhaps, relieved by a passing friend. When this process has been carried on for about five days, it being rather monotonous and tiresome work, the reims are considered sufficiently soft and pliable. During the night the bundle is left in a tightly wound-up state, the winding-stick being fastened to some branch of the tree, so that the reims cannot be reached by dogs. In the course of these five days the bundle may once or twice be rubbed with fat to hasten the process of softening. The process described above, having been completed, the new reims are neatly dressed with a sharp knife, to remove the hard ends. Then they are ready for use, during which they will always become softer and more pliable.

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Appendix I.European influence on Native Material culture.

As regards the European influence on Native material culture, two phases of absorption may be distinguished, namely the earlier phase and the modern phase.

A. The earlier phase:-

In the early days the tilling of the lands was exclusively done with hoes by women. With the advent of the White man, the ox, plough, yoke, skei and reim were introduced and agricultural work was gradually transferred from women to men. Also the sledge (primitive wagon) was introduced and the conveyance of grain, building material and water was gradually taken over by men using animal transport. Today water for building purposes is conveyed in drums fastened on a sledge drawn by oxen. Water for household purposes is still carried by women in tins on their heads.

Also, at about the same time, the horse and saddle were introduced and in many instances the horse became the substitute of the pack-ox.

After the Natives had lived for a long time in close contact with the Boers, they gradually began to learn the Dutch method of thatching, with the result that they soon began to discard the traditional way of thatching and that men began to take over the work of women and introduced the Dutch system.

Moreover, during the earlier phase, the rectangular house partitioned into two or three rooms according to the model of the Dutch Hartebeest-house, came into being. The walls of these rectangular houses were still made from mud by women in the same way as those of the circular hut. Even circular huts are now sometimes partitioned (see page 40 the drawing of a circular hut at Tamosstad - Transvaal). Even today Dutch thatching is the work of specialists. In the whole village of Tamosstad only the following living

thatchers could be traced:-

Tumêlo Kotane, Lekanyana Moshome, Moloko Lesele, Piti Maleke, Nage Masoko, Reuben Monedi, Ramakyana Makubela, Jeremia Lethulwe, Klaas Mabuto, Jarus Mekgwê, Andries Molefe, Motsuwe Letloliwane, Simon Seipei, Mpole Kgatse and Asaph Leseiane.

If the hut is not thatched by means of a beerparty (letsema) the thatcher usually wants from £1-10 for a small circular hut to £4 or one head of cattle for a rectangular house,

B. The modern phase of absorption.

As regards the modern European absorption, see appendix II in this study. A few remarks concerning this will suffice here:-

The rectangular house has undergone further modification, the thatched roof in many cases being replaced by an iron roof, while the complete European house has been introduced to a marked extent (appendix II).

There are a very few builders all of whom learned their trade in Johannesburg. The following names have been traced, the first three being the most important because only these can put on an iron roof. The rest are only bricklayers:- Maselwane Moshome (he insists that he helped to build the Carlton hotel in Johannesburg), Koko Marwane, Modise Leseiane, Samuel Leseiane, Garefanê Nkwe, Gert Molokwane, Johannes Kotane, and Samuel Kotane.

About 40 percent of the houses are built by a European whose work is a disgrace to architecture.

Usually the builder is satisfied with £20 or four head of cattle for a house of four or five apartments.

Dressmaking and tailoring:- Most women who possess sewing machines can do their own dressmaking.

There is one tailor - Manasse Mekgwê - who learned his trade in Johannesburg. He can do splendid work, but because his charge for making is so high (£4), he does not get many orders.

There is one blacksmith - Ramaetsa Nkwê - who learned his trade from a European blacksmith at Groot Marico. He does all the smith's work of the village.

Most European household utensils are procured at the three local stores (one owned by a European, one by an Indian and one by a Coloured man), in exchange for mabele (kafir corn) - the price varied from 1/3 to 2/- a bucketful from July to December 1939 - for eggs or for money.

Most of the money is sent to the village by relatives working in Johannesburg. During the months September, October, and November 1939 respectively 91, 90 and 98 registered letters containing an average of £2 a letter were received at the post office of Tamosstad. A good percentage of this money is spent in ordering medicine, for about 75% of the parcels received at the post office of Tamosstad contain medicine.

A fairly large percentage of crockery and cutlery is sent to the people by relatives working in Johannesburg, or is brought home by them personally when they go home on a visit.

Almost all the furniture as well as about 75% of the building material is procured in Johannesburg.

Appendix II.

Degree of penetration by European methods and utensils in one area covered by my study:-

The Eastern part of the village of Tampusstad has been taken, including the hut of the Chief (No. II) and that of the native Moruti (No. I3).

Key to tables:-

- Ⓐ - Rectangular house (mud walls, iron roof).
- R - Rectangular house (mud walls, thatched roof).
- E - European house (brick walls, iron roof).
- C - Circular hut (mud walls, thatched roof).
- Ⓘ - The ring round the figure designates that the article concerned was made by an inmate of that house.
- ⓪ - There is no article of that kind in the house concerned, but it can be made in that house.

Key to totals:-

- A. Total number of articles.
- B Percentage of houses in which various things were found.
- C. Average number of articles per house.
- D. Percentage of houses in which various things were made.

* Note : The numbers of specialists in the making of calabashes, goat- or sheepskin mats, stamping-blocks, difalana and grinding-stones have been left out, because everybody can make these things.

No. of hut.	Type	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat- or sheep skin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stampingblock.	Stampers.	Grinding Stone.	Difalana.	European Bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Threelegged ironpots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.	
1	C	14	40	0	4	2	2	4	6	4	10	1	4	2	2	-	-	-	8	5	4	3	10	2	6	30	20	4	-	5	60	20	20	-	1	8	
2	R	5	7	1	0	1	2	1	0	3	4	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	3	1	2	2	16	14	-	3	2	4	1	2	-	1	-
3	R	1	5	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	3	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	4	5	-	-	2	10	1	-	-	1	3	
4	C	1	5	-	-	1	1	1	0	1	2	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	3	21	12	14	4	2	3	-	-	-	1	4	
5	R	4	3	1	3	-	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	1	5	1	-	4	-	1	-	3	2	4	12	12	-	-	2	8	3	10	-	1	3	
6	R	6	14	0	-	1	-	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	2	2	3	5	5	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	2	3	
7	R	8	9	-	5	1	2	1	5	1	3	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	6	-	1	1	2	2	5	17	-	-	-	2	3	2	-	-	1	-	
8	E	3	6	0	6	-	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	-	6	-	-	3	-	2	-	1	1	3	14	9	3	2	2	8	2	2	-	-	2	4
9	C	3	20	0	-	-	-	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	1	1	-	4	-	-	1	3	1	-	-	1	4	
10	E	6	23	2	-	1	-	1	4	3	3	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	4	2	-	1	2	3	3	18	20	3	-	3	11	1	1	-	-	2	10
11	C	16	68	4	7	3	3	2	5	2	4	1	1	1	5	-	-	-	5	4	5	-	5	1	9	10	18	8	1	5	20	7	9	-	-	2	10
12	R	4	-	-	6	-	-	2	3	1	3	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	4	3	2	-	2	2	8	41	13	10	2	5	4	3	4	-	-	1	4
13	E	31	38	0	2	-	4	1	6	3	4	2	2	3	1	-	1	-	5	2	4	-	7	3	5	20	5	10	-	3	6	5	6	2	4	18	

[illegible]

No. of hut.	Type	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheepskin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stamping block.	Stampers.	Grindingstone.	Difalana.	European bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Threelegged iron-pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.	
14	C	3	4	-	4	1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	1	4	-	-	-	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	7	7	2	-	2	6	2	2	-	1	3	
15	C	3	2	-	1	1	-	-	1	3	2	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	
16	R	2	7	-	5	-	1	-	1	2	3	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	3	1	-	2	3	4	32	20	4	2	4	6	10	10	-	-	3	6
17	(R)	3	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	1	2	1	-	6	1	-	2	-	2	1	2	1	6	12	12	1	-	2	6	1	-	1	2	2	
18	E	2	8	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	2	1	3	1	-	6	1	-	2	-	-	-	3	2	5	12	12	-	2	2	7	1	4	-	-	2	4
19	R	2	2	-	3	-	-	1	2	2	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	1	3	9	2	8	-	2	3	1	-	-	-	2	4
20	R	4	10	0	2	2	1	1	4	3	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	3	2	1	-	1	3	6	9	10	6	-	4	4	4	2	1	2	3	
21	R	5	12	-	3	1	-	-	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	-	1	-	2	6	3	-	2	2	8	24	20	4	2	6	12	1	3	-	-	2	4
22	R	3	4	1	4	1	-	1	2	2	4	1	2	-	-	6	-	-	3	1	-	1	2	2	4	20	11	8	2	3	5	3	4	-	-	1	5
23	E	9	14	-	5	1	-	2	2	2	8	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	4	3	2	1	2	3	4	12	24	4	2	3	8	6	24	-	-	2	6
24	E	14	21	1	5	1	2	1	2	4	5	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	7	2	4	-	1	4	5	48	20	6	-	-	36	12	12	1	4	5	
25	E	1	8	-	5	1	-	1	2	1	3	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	4	2	1	2	2	2	7	40	24	7	8	8	8	4	6	-	-	2	12

No. of hut.	Type.	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheep skin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Wooden spoons.	Mogope.	Stamping block.	Stampers.	Grindingstone.	Difalana.	European Bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Three-legged iron pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea- or coffeepots	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.	
26	F 1	3	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	3	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	3	2	-	1	2	2	23	12	-	-	3	5	-	5	2	1	7	
27	(R) 5	10	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	3	-	2	-	-	1	2	2	36	9	2	2	4	3	-	-	-	1	5
28	(R) 20	26	3	7	1	2	2	2	3	3	5	1	2	1	5	-	2	-	-	7	4	2	1	6	8	52	47	19	14	11	20	6	5	3	3	15	
29	C 14	5	-	4	1	1	1	1	3	1	4	-	-	1	2	-	1	-	5	2	3	-	3	2	4	27	24	6	-	4	12	4	6	-	1	3	
30	R 2	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	4	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	3	4	2	-	-	2	4	1	-	-	2	6	
31	R 3	3	-	2	-	-	1	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	4	4	-	2	2	6	18	19	-	1	3	6	2	5	-	1	4	
32	C 2	9	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	2	3	1	3	-	1	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	2	17	2	-	2	2	2	1	-	-	1	5	
33	R 3	6	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	-	3	1	1	1	3	1	3	9	4	-	-	2	3	1	-	1	1	3	
34	(R) 2	10	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	8	1	-	1	-	2	1	-	2	4	2	1	2	3	7	30	20	24	4	4	6	4	4	2	3	4	
35	(R) 4	10	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	2	-	-	1	-	2	2	-	4	-	2	1	2	1	3	7	5	-	-	2	4	1	1	-	1	1	
36	C 7	8	0	2	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	-	3	-	2	-	3	1	5	10	5	-	-	2	20	-	2	-	1	3	
37	C 4	9	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	3	3	2	-	3	3	4	7	20	5	1	5	5	2	4	-	2	6	

No.	of hut.
26	Riempiemat chairs.
-	Kitchendressers.
-	Sideboards.
-	Beds.
-	Hoes.
-	Spades.
-	Wagons.
-	Sledges.
-	Bicycles.
-	Ovens.
-	woodenspoons.
-	Negope.
-	Stamping Block.
-	Stompers.
-	Grindstone
-	Difelana.
-	European Sags.
-	Sewing machines.
-	Gramophones.
-	Threelagged iron-
-	pots.
-	Saucyons.
-	European buckets.
-	Brass.
-	Tins.
-	Baths.
-	Enamel dishes.
-	Cups.
-	Plates.
-	Glasses.
-	Vases.
-	Tea-or Coffee-pots
-	Metal spoons.
-	Tableknives.
-	Forks.
-	Claws.
-	Trunks.
-	Chairs.

No. of hut.	Type.	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheepskin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stamping Block.	Stampers.	Grindingstone	Difalana.	European Bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramophone.	Threelegged iron-pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.
38	R	3	6	①	①	①	-	1	①	1	1	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	1	2	6	5	-	-	1	4	1	-	-	1	2
39	C	2	1	-	2	-	-	1	②	1	3	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	1	-	2	2	2	9	5	9	3	3	6	1	1	1	2	2
40	C	5	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	②	2	1	1	1	1	8	1	-	2	2	-	-	1	1	3	30	20	8	-	3	5	2	7	-	1	7
41	R	④	10	-	3	-	-	1	②	1	5	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	3	2	3	77	65	9	3	3	5	2	2	-	3	7
42	R	9	10	-	2	1	1	1	⑪	2	4	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	3	2	-	-	2	2	6	10	10	4	1	2	6	-	-	-	2	2
43	E	7	10	-	5	-	1	1	②	2	5	1	2	1	-	6	1	-	4	-	1	1	2	1	8	20	30	6	1	2	10	1	2	-	3	4
44	E	11	11	-	8	1	1	1	②	2	4	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	4	2	2	1	1	4	8	8	8	4	-	4	11	4	5	-	4	14
45	R	⑪	32	①	7	-	-	1	③	1	4	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	6	2	-	-	2	3	8	20	10	2	-	3	6	-	-	-	2	2
46	R	6	10	-	-	1	2	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	-	1	1	4	4	7	-	-	2	3	1	2	-	1	2
47	R	6	8	-	4	1	-	1	①	③	5	1	3	2	2	-	-	-	5	3	2	-	5	4	9	10	20	10	1	5	6	2	6	-	3	8
48	R	3	8	-	4	①	-	-	①	2	3	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	4	-	2	-	-	1	2	12	17	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	2	6
49	R	⑧	18	-	1	1	-	2	④	④	5	1	3	1	1	2	1	-	7	2	1	-	4	4	5	16	12	9	4	5	10	10	4	-	2	10
50	E	6	6	-	2	-	-	-	②	1	3	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	3	-	-	5	2	4	15	14	8	-	3	6	3	10	2	3	14

No.	of hut.	Riempimat chairs	Kitchendressers.	Sideboards.	Beds.	Hoes.	Spades.	Wagons.	Sledges.	Bicycles.	Ovens.
38	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
39	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-
40	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
41	1	4	2	2	3	-	-	-	1	1	1
42	-	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	-
43	(4)	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
44	2	1	1	4	4	1	1	-	1	1	-
45	-	1	-	2	3	1	1	1	1	-	-
46	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
47	1	2	1	3	3	2	1	-	-	1	-
48	-	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	1	1	-
49	4	-	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
50	4	1	-	3	3	-	1	1	1	-	-

121.

No. of hut.	Type.	claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheepskin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stamping block.	Stampers.	Grinding stones.	Difalana.	European bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Threelegged iron pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffee pots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.
51	R	⑤	3	-	-	-	-	-	①	2	1	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	1	-	3	-	4	4	4	-	3	2	4	1	1	-	1	3
52	R	5	5	-	-	1	-	1	②	2	4	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	4	-	1	1	2	1	4	4	6	-	-	2	3	1	1	-	1	4
53	C	4	10	-	1	-	-	1	①	2	4	2	3	1	1	-	-	-	6	1	2	-	3	3	5	4	6	-	2	4	3	-	-	-	2	2
54	R	③	10	-	4	1	-	-	①	1	4	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	1	1	2	10	-	2	1	2	4	-	2	-	1	2
55	R	④	20	-	5	-	-	1	①	-	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	5	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	2
56	R	3	3	-	-	-	1	-	①	②	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	2	4	2	-	2	7	4	10	7	10	3	9	8	9	-	2	4
57	R	⑦	8	-	3	-	1	-	①	2	2	-	-	1	1	6	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	1	5	4	12	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	1	2
58	R	⑥	8	①	-	-	1	-	①	②	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	4	1	3	-	2	1	8	24	20	3	2	4	14	8	30	2	3	8
59	C	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	①	③	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3	3	-	-	2	3	6	7	14	-	1	7	11	3	3	-	2	1
60	R	3	6	-	2	-	-	1	-	③	4	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	-	-	-	2	1	3	23	6	-	2	2	5	2	1	-	2	4
61	R	6	7	-	3	1	1	1	③	④	2	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	2	2	4	16	16	-	3	4	8	1	3	-	1	3
62	R	⑨	20	①	4	①	1	1	②	3	7	1	1	2	1	-	-	1	4	-	1	-	3	1	3	24	14	12	2	2	8	2	8	1	1	7

No. of hut.	No. of hut.	Riempiematchairs.	Kitchendressers.	Sideboards.	Beds.	Hoes.	Spades.	Wagons.	Sledges.	Bicycles.	Ovens.	Stamping Block.	Stampers.	Grindingstones.	Difelans.	European bars.	Sewing machines.	Gramophones.	Three-legged iron-pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	
51	-	1	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	3	1	1	1	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	1	3	1	3	-	2	
52	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	2	4	2	1	-	1	-	6	2	-	-	5	2	5	30	25	5	-	5	12	2	5	1	2	
53	2	-	1	1	1	2	-	1	-	1	-	1	3	2	2	-	-	3	2	2	2	2	3	1	6	60	30	4	1	4	30	4	5	-	2	
54	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	5	4	2	2	2	4	1	5	46	30	10	2	6	27	7	7	-	3
55	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	3	10	5	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	
56	②	1	1	1	2	4	2	1	-	2	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	1	1	12	12	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	
57	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	1	-	5	4	2	2	3	2	7	15	32	10	4	6	40	10	10	1	3	
58	-	4	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	3	1	1	2	2	4	3	3	2	1	3	7	6	6	1	2	
59	-	1	-	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	3	2	7	46	26	12	2	5	3	1	5	-	2	
60	-	1	-	1	3	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	4	1	1	-	3	3	4	10	20	-	-	3	20	10	12	-	2	
61	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	3	4	3	1	3	4	3	-	1	1	6	20	22	-	1	4	14	7	8	-	2	
62	-	-	1	3	3	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	2	30	-	-	3	1	-	-	2	2	1	21	24	-	2	3	20	3	6	-	1	

No. of hut.	Type.	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheep skin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stamping Block.	Stampers.	Grindingstones.	Difalana.	European bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Threelegged iron-pots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.
63 R	③	10	①	-	-	-	1	1	①	②	1	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	1	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	1	3	1	3	-	2	-
64 R	⑧	20	-	-	3	-	-	1	⑥	5	7	2	4	2	1	-	1	-	6	2	-	-	5	2	5	30	25	5	-	5	12	2	5	1	2	5
65 C	1	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	②	③	-	1	3	2	3	-	-	-	3	2	2	-	3	1	6	60	30	4	1	4	30	4	5	-	2	5
66 R	⑦	20	①	①	5	1	④	1	②	②	⑦	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	5	4	2	2	4	1	5	46	30	10	2	6	27	7	7	-	3	6
67 R	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	①	②	1	1	-	-	5	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	3	10	5	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	-
68 R	④	6	①	-	-	①	1	1	②	②	3	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	3	1	3	12	12	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-	-
69 E	4	13	-	-	7	①	4	2	②	②	⑥	2	2	2	1	-	1	-	5	4	2	2	3	2	7	35	32	10	4	6	40	10	10	1	3	10
70 E	3	9	-	-	-	-	1	1	①	①	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	3	3	1	1	2	2	4	9	3	2	1	5	7	6	6	1	2	5
71 R	②	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	①	1	3	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	3	2	7	46	24	12	5	5	3	1	5	-	2	6
72 R	4	7	-	-	2	-	-	1	②	②	3	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	4	1	1	-	3	3	4	10	20	-	-	5	20	12	12	-	2	4
73 R	④	3	-	-	-	1	2	1	①	2	3	-	-	1	-	3	-	1	3	4	3	-	1	1	6	30	22	-	1	6	14	3	3	-	2	5
74 R	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	①	1	1	1	1	-	2	30	-	-	3	1	-	-	10	2	3	25	24	-	2	3	20	-	-	-	3	4
75 R	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	①	1	3	1	2	1	-	10	-	1	1	1	2	-	2	2	6	17	19	9	6	6	9	3	6	-	3	5

No. of hut.	Type.	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheep-skin.	Beerstrainer.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stamping Block.	Stampers.	Grindingstones.	Difalana.	European Bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramophones.	Threelegged ironpots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.
76	R	6	3	-	1	-	-	1	①	1	1	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	3	2	3	1	-	1	3	10	8	-	4	2	4	1	-	-	2	4
77	R	2	6	-	2	-	1	1	②	2	4	1	1	1	-	6	-	-	4	3	2	1	2	2	3	19	20	1	-	15	7	4	3	-	2	3
78	R	2	1	-	4	-	-	-	①	②	4	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	3	1	2	-	1	1	4	12	5	2	2	3	6	1	-	-	1	6
79	R	3	4	-	-	-	1	1	①	-	3	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	2	3	1	-	3	1	5	12	12	4	-	3	3	1	-	1	1	2
80	E	4	17	-	2	-	1	1	②	4	4	2	3	1	3	2	2	-	4	2	3	1	1	2	5	16	12	8	4	5	18	6	6	-	4	8
81	R	4	7	-	2	-	4	2	①	3	1	1	3	2	1	6	2	-	3	2	2	2	3	3	9	20	6	7	5	3	24	2	12	1	3	6
82	R	3	8	-	-	1	1	1	③	2	3	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	3	5	2	-	4	3	5	22	18	-	-	6	12	3	3	-	1	-
83	R	⑥	19	①	1	①	1	1	②	③	③	2	3	2	3	-	1	-	4	2	1	1	5	2	7	17	20	8	2	2	5	-	-	1	2	3
84	R	4	12	-	1	①	1	-	②	②	①	1	1	2	-	7	-	-	3	-	-	-	3	1	4	20	8	-	4	4	7	2	3	-	1	-
85	R	2	3	-	-	①	1	1	②	1	3	1	3	1	1	-	1	-	4	6	1	-	2	3	10	24	36	8	4	6	20	20	20	1	3	4
86	E	7	8	2	-	-	-	-	①	②	4	1	2	2	2	-	-	-	5	3	2	3	5	3	10	40	30	20	3	5	30	10	10	1	4	9
87	R	⑩	7	①	-	①	1	1	②	2	2	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	2	3	50	-	4	2	24	4	5	-	1	2

No. of hut.	Riempiematchairs.	Kitchendressers.	Sideboards.	Beds.	Hoes.	Spades.	Wagons.	Sledges.	Bicycles.	Ovens.
76	-	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	2	-
77	1	2	1	1	2	2	-	1	2	-
78	1	1	-	1	2	1	-	1	-	-
79	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-
80	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	3	-
81	-	2	-	3	3	1	-	-	-	-
82	-	1	-	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
83	-	2	-	3	3	-	-	1	1	-
84	2	1	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	-
85	2	3	1	4	2	1	-	1	-	-
86	2	1	-	4	2	2	1	-	1	1
87	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-

Stampers.

Grindingstones.

Difalans.

European bags.

Sewing machines.

Gramophones.

Threelagged ironpots.

Saucepans.

European buckets.

Drums.

Tins.

Baths.

Enamel dishes.

Cups.

Plates.

Glasses.

Vases.

Tea-or Coffeepots.

Metalspoons.

Tableknives.

Forks.

Clocks.

Tables.

Chairs.

No. of hut.	Type.	Claypots.	Calabashes.	Mats, bulrushes.	Mats, goat or sheep skin.	Beerstrainers.	Moretloa baskets.	Winnowing baskets.	Tlatlana.	Woodenspoons.	Mogope.	Stampingblocks.	Stampers.	Grindingstones.	Difalana.	European bags.	Sewing machines.	Gramaphones.	Threelegged ironpots.	Saucepans.	European buckets.	Drums.	Tins.	Baths.	Enamel dishes.	Cups.	Plates.	Glasses.	Vases.	Tea-or Coffeepots.	Metalspoons.	Tableknives.	Forks.	Clocks.	Tables.	Chairs.
88	E 13	14	1	5	1	2	2	2	3	3	4	2	3	1	2	-	1	-	4	8	4	1	6	4	10	54	39	22	2	6	24	12	12	1	3	8
89	R 8	10	1	5	-	1	1	1	4	3	3	1	3	1	1	4	1	2	4	6	3	-	1	3	5	24	12	12	2	6	4	5	6	1	3	6
90	R 1	6	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	3	-	-	2	2	1	-	4	1	5	12	6	-	1	2	6	4	4	-	1	4
91	E 1	5	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	5	19	11	-	2	2	6	-	1	-	2	10
92	R 4	17	-	3	-	-	1	1	1	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1	5	3	2	1	3	2	7	21	30	6	4	8	12	4	10	-	3	8
93	R 14	12	-	15	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	2	3	2	5	-	-	3	1	3	1	-	2	6	20	15	1	1	3	10	2	20	-	3	4
94	R 5	20	-	3	1	-	1	1	1	2	-	2	2	1	-	6	1	-	3	3	-	3	5	3	9	30	23	4	-	3	24	24	24	1	1	12
95	E 9	12	-	2	1	-	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	4	4	1	-	3	3	13	12	20	12	3	11	22	5	13	-	5	16
96	E 5	3	-	3	1	-	1	1	1	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	2	1	7	12	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	2	8
97	R 2	9	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	1	5	1	1	1	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	1	3	7	13	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	5
98	R 12	7	-	2	1	-	1	1	4	3	3	-	-	1	1	2	1	-	2	2	1	1	1	3	12	30	12	12	6	6	30	12	18	-	3	6
99	R 6	6	-	4	1	-	1	1	2	2	2	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	4	1	-	-	3	3	4	-	-	1	3
100	E 4	4	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	3	5	2	2	1	2	-	1	-	3	-	2	1	4	1	2	16	17	1	-	1	4	1	-	1	2	8

No. of hut.	Riempimat chairs.	Kitchendressers.	Sideboards.	Beds.	Hoes.	Spades.	Wagons.	Sledges.	Bicycles.	Ovens.
88	-	1	-	2	3	2	-	-	1	-
89	-	1	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	-
90	-	1	-	2	2	1	-	-	-	-
91	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1
92	-	3	2	2	3	1	-	1	-	-
93	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	1	1	-
94	-	2	-	4	3	1	-	1	2	1
95	2	3	1	2	3	1	-	1	-	-
96	①	-	-	2	2	1	-	1	2	1
97	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	1	1
98	①	1	1	3	2	1	-	1	1	-
99	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	1	-	-
100	-	4	-	4	3	1	1	1	2	-

Beerstrainers

Horatlocaskets

Winnowing baskets.

Tistiana.

Woolen spoons

Koppe

Stamping blocks

Stamps

Grinding stones

Difulana

European beer.

Sewing machines

Grasshoppers

Three-legged iron
pots.

Sakos pans.

European buckets

Drums

Tins

Baths

Kamul dishes

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	A	B	C	D	
Plates	1456	96	15.2	-	
Glasses	433	60	7.2	-	
Vases	173	60	2.9	-	
Tea or Coffee pots	357	100	3.6	-	
Metalspoons	994	100	9.9	-	
Tableknives	343	81	4.2	-	
Forks	483	71	6.8	-	
Clocks	32	25	1.2	-	
Tables	191	98	1.9	-	
Chairs	509	92	5.5	-	
Riempimat-chairs	75	44	1.7	12	
Kitchen-dressers	119	81	1.5	-	
Sideboards	40	31	1.3	-	
Beds	194	93	2.1	-	
Hoes	206	100	2	-	
Spades	81	55	1.5	-	
Wagons	22	22	1	-	
Sledges	51	49	1	-	
Bicycles	69	53	1.3	-	
Ovens	8	8	1	-	

Appendix III.Explanations of the tables above.

As a dwelling-hut the circular hut is disappearing rapidly. The letlole(store-hut) is however, in most cases, still a small circular hut.

For carrying water the clay-pot is universally replaced by the tin and the European bucket, for the pot is now considered to be breakable and to be too heavy.

As a drinking-vessel the calabash is to a large extent replaced by the European cup and drinking glass, although beer is still universally drunk out of calabashes. Some houses do not possess calabashes as the inmates do not drink beer, it being forbidden by their religion.

The beer-strainer is found only in 44% of the houses, though beer is still made in about 90% of the houses. This shows the extent to which borrowing is carried on, for the family which does not possess a beer-strainer, simply borrows it from its neighbours.

Moretloa baskets show a tendency towards disappearance, for in the hundred houses dealt with in these tables, there is only one specialist in the making of this kind of basket. In fact, in the whole village of Tamosstad there are only four specialists in the making of moretloa baskets, namely Rankwane Moshome, Arone Modikwe, Samuel Mantlhasi and Herman Poê(Plate L).

The lesélo(winnowing basket) has also been largely replaced by the enamel dish(compare the figures). In the whole village of Tamosstad there are only two specialists in this kind of work, namely Jim Kosa(Plates XLVI and XLVII) and Johannes Kosa, but these are resident in the other half of the village, so that in the tables, the number of specialists in this work is shown as nought.

The percentage of specialists reaches its highest mark in the art of making the tlatlana(Plates LI, LII and LIII) for in no less than 93% of the houses these baskets have

been made.

In almost every case the knowledge of how to make these native articles is handed down from father to son or from mother to daughter. There are cases, however, where an art was learnt from a friend at the cattle-posts.

At Tamposstad the metal spoon has universally replaced the wooden spoon for eating purposes. The 197 wooden spoons found in the hundred huts dealt with in my study, are all exclusively used for dishing up food and for stirring the contents of the beer-pots. The spoons are made by boys at the cattle-posts.

The mogope (wooden bowl) shows a tendency towards disappearance, while its substitutes, the enamel dish and the European plate, are rapidly gaining popularity (compare the figures), a fact which is proved by the small number of specialists in the making of this article.

Although the stamping-block and the grinding-stone are only found in 81- and 86% respectively of the houses concerned, they are borrowed by most of the other houses so that they are actually used in many more houses.

In 25% of the houses the European bag has already replaced the traditional sefalana, and in another 14% of the houses the sefalana is supplemented by the European bag.

The village is very poor in musical instruments, as only 5% of the houses contain gramophones.

The three-legged iron pot and the saucepan have universally replaced the clay-pot as a cooking utensil. The clay-pot is at present only used as a receptacle for beer and for drinking-water which it keeps cool.

The baths are used chiefly for the washing of clothes.

The flower-vases are used solely for decorative purposes

and not one of the 173 vases which were in 60 houses, contained any flowers. As far as the cultivation of flowers and the planting of fruit-trees are concerned, European civilisation has been displayed before blind eyes. The prickly-pear is the only plant which has been brought into the village and at present it shows a tendency towards spreading through the whole village. Besides the prickly-pear, the *Chrysophyllum Magalismsontanum* (an edible berry) which ripens in December, and which grows on the hills near the village, is the only other fruit which the people residing in the village ever eat.

Although a fairly high percentage of the houses contain table-knives and forks (see figures), people do not eat with knives and forks in ordinary daily life. These are put away for special occasions such as wedding-feasts.

About 75% of the 32 clocks (see figures) were out of order. People generally say, "e shule" (it is dead). This shows that the clock serves more as a decoration than as a timekeeper. Some of the riempie-mat chairs have been obtained from Europeans, while those which are home-made, were for the most part made by old men, many of whom are already dead. In Tamposstad the kitchen-dresser and the sideboard have universally replaced the traditional native rack.

The degree to which animal transport is used in this village can be ascertained from the figures in the tables printed above.

The whole village contains about twelve ovens. Most of the people who sometimes buy bread, do so from the local bakery at the European store, and pay sixpence a loaf.

In addition to the things contained in the tables printed above, there are two native-owned windmills in the whole village, and four motor cars which are owned respectively by the Chief, two native teachers and a coloured shopkeeper.

Bibliography.

The following books have been consulted mainly in connection with the early history of the Sotho-Tswana tribes and with their mutual relationship:-

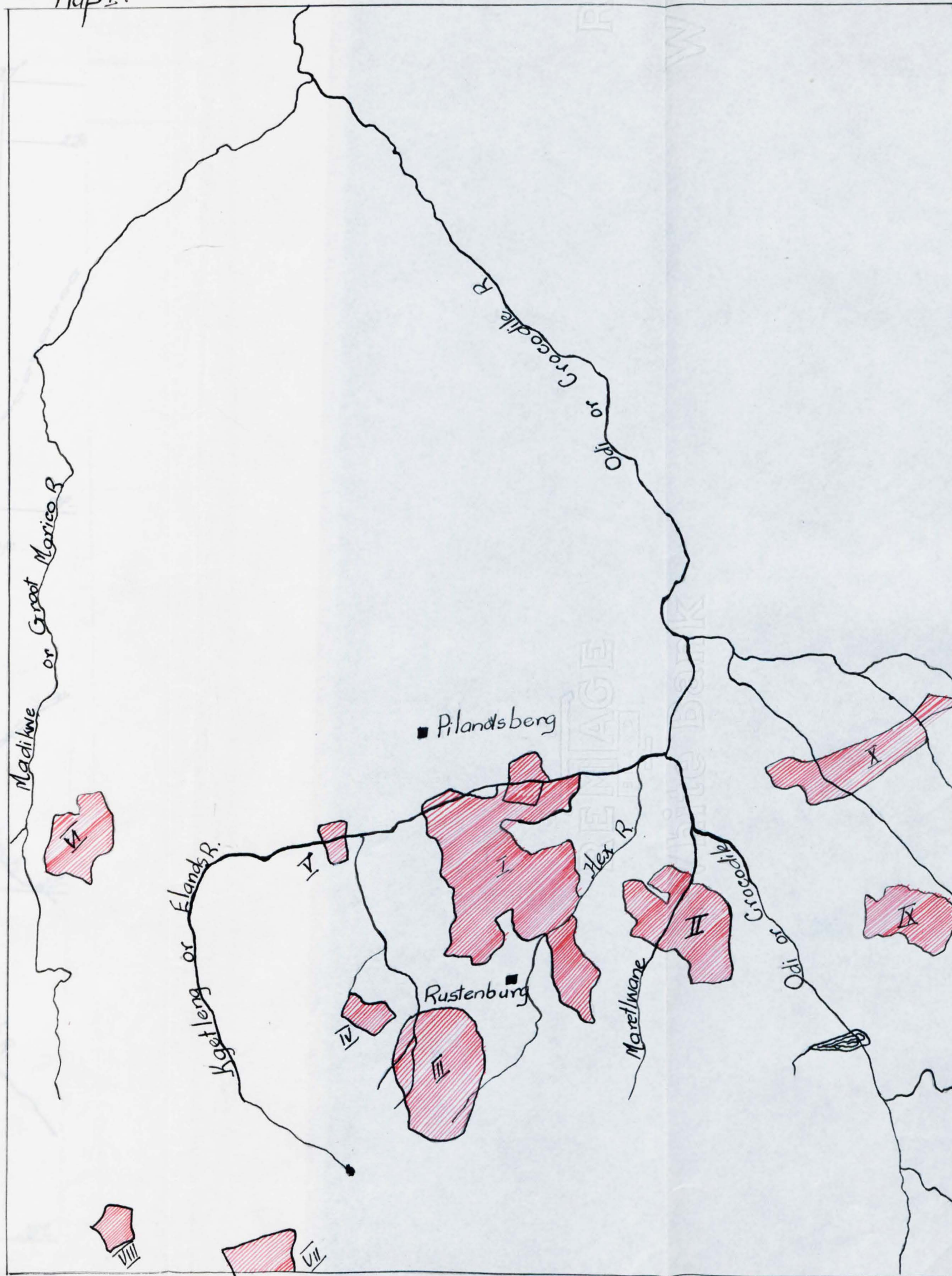
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DISTRIBUTION OF THE KWENA TRIBES

OF

THE TRANSVAAL.

- I. Fokeng or Kwena.
- II. Kwena ba Mokgopa.
- III. Kwena ba Mmanemêle.
- IV. Kwena ba Modimosana ba Maaka.
- V. Kwena ba Modimosana or ba Mmatau.
- VI. Kwena ba Modimosana ba Mmamorare
ba Matlaku.
- VII. Kwena ba Mokgopa.
- VIII. Kwena or Fokeng.
- IX. Kwena ba Mokgopa.
- X. Kwena ba Mokgopa ba Mosêtlha.



Map II.

Bechuanaland Protectorate



Railways: - - - - -
 Boundaries: - - - - -
 Boundary B.P. & Transvaal: - - - - -

Scale: 1 Inch = 20 miles.